Catholic Social Work in Germany

BY

CHARLES D. PLATER S.J.

M.A. Oxon.

WITH A PREFACE BY

THE BISHOP OF SALFORD

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FOUR ARTICLES FROM THE "DUBLIN REVIEW"

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE BY THE BISHOP OF SALFORD -	vii
AUTHOR'S PREFACE - - - - -	xi
I. THE CALL TO ARMS - - - -	1
II. THE AUTUMN MANŒUVRES - - -	31
III. THE ARMY IN ACTION - - -	66
IV. THE LESSONS OF GERMAN TACTICS -	95
BOOKS RECOMMENDED - - - -	138
INDEX - - - - - - -	139

PREFACE

We have heard much of late years about an *entente*, as it is called, between this country and one or the other foreign nation. Certainly in so far as such *ententes* lead to better understanding and more friendly relations between the various nations of the civilised world, and are therefore a guarantee of abiding peace, they deserve the warm support of every good citizen and in a particular manner of every Christian who professes himself by his very name to be a follower of the Prince of Peace.

But I have long felt that there is one *entente* which is of more value to us than others, not merely from political motives, but from the point of view of our own moral and religious advantage: I refer to that with Germany. For I believe that we have much that is good to learn from the German people: their strong religious instincts, their inborn respect for order and

authority, their earnestness and seriousness of character and aim, their love of domestic life, their devotion to the 'Fatherland'—all these are precious traits of national character that we in this country cannot but derive profit from by knowing and imitating.

It is especially to us Catholics that a more intimate acquaintance with Germany, and particularly with German Catholicism, must be of the greatest value. The sterling worth of this German Catholicism is well known all over the Church. Those of us who have seen it in its home have long been filled with that conviction. Tried in the fire of the *Kulturkampf*, German Catholicism has emerged the sterling, solid, practical, progressive organisation that we all admire.

But it is above all in the domain of social activity and social reform that Catholic Germany has set us a model worthy of all our attention and emulation. Therein we see Applied Christianity at its best. How good that best is will be gathered from the stimulating pages of the Rev. C. Plater, S.J., that follow. They are both historical and descriptive. We have had in this country

a considerable amount of theoretical writing and discussion, preaching and lecturing, on the great Social Problems. Here we have practical solutions at work. The 'campaign' through which the Author pilots us, from the first 'call to arms' to the final review of the 'German tactics,' seems to me one of the most stimulating experiences which our Social thinkers and workers—and not Catholic ones only—can enjoy, and for this reason I warmly commend this book to them, feeling convinced that it is likely to be productive of practical good quite out of proportion to the modest bulk of the volume.

✠ LOUIS CHARLES,
Bishop of Salford.

Feast of St Joachim,
22*nd August* 1909.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE following papers are reprinted (with a few slight changes) from the *Dublin Review* in response to many requests that they should be published in a separate form. More peremptory demands upon my time have prevented my attempting to recast and supplement them. Hence I must ask the reader's indulgence, not only for their want of structure and completeness, but for a certain assurance and even boldness of tone which, however permissible to a writer who hides himself behind the anonymity of a review and shares his responsibility with others, might well be considered out of place in a book which reflects merely personal opinions.

My sincere thanks are due to the Bishop of Salford for kindly contributing a preface, and to Mr Wilfrid Ward for allowing me to reprint these papers from the *Dublin Review*; also to Father Otto Pfülf, S.J., Father J. Bap. Steinmetz, S.J., Pfarrer Joseph May,

and Dr Hohn, who have given me the benefit of their invaluable advice and assistance.

I shall feel more than satisfied if this account of Catholic Social Work in Germany leads some of my readers to investigate a subject which has such important bearings on our own needs in this country. I have added the names of a few books which may be found useful by those who wish to study in detail the institutions of which I have given but an inadequate sketch.

CHARLES D. PLATER, S.J.

May 1909

CATHOLIC SOCIAL WORK IN GERMANY

ESSAY I

THE CALL TO ARMS

The Catholics of Germany have during the last half-century grappled successfully with three dangers which threatened ruin to their Church—three dangers which, in a very striking manner, have their counterpart in this country.

In the first place the Church was menaced by a State absolutism which, if carried out according to the mind of its promoters, would have left no room for Catholicism. The second danger was the growing spirit of Socialism in the country, with which Catholic workmen were beginning to be infected. The third was an appalling apathy among the wealthier Catholics, especially those of the professional and industrial classes; and in particular a disinclination to regain, by social activity, that influence upon the working classes which they had, not unnaturally, lost. With

what success could the Church protest against Socialism when the more prosperous Catholic laymen were helping to perpetuate the very abuses which made the workmen welcome the gospel of Socialism?

Such were the dangers, within and without, which seemed to make it impossible that the Church should emerge from the struggle. That she succeeded in doing so was undoubtedly a gain for the German nation as a whole. That, we think, will be admitted by any unprejudiced student of history. In chronicling the power of Catholicism in Germany we are chronicling the progress of forces which, directly or indirectly, have made for the highest national well-being. A Catholic is not the mere partizan of a creed. His cause is also the cause of civilization in the best sense of the word. The three dangers which we have mentioned as threatening the Catholic Church were also in a very true sense threatening the nation. In helping to break the power of State absolutism in Germany, Catholic leaders were vindicating civil liberty for all. In organising their own working classes they were the first to raise the barrier against that old-fashioned Socialism which, as even modern Socialists admit, would have produced utter chaos. And finally, in combating the apathy of Catholics in positions of influence, they were producing pioneers in social reform the value of whose work is attested on all hands.

These are no small achievements. And the

work had to be done from the beginning. The materials for a reaction had to be created. But created they were and that largely through the enthusiasm of one Catholic bishop. To-day the Catholic Church in Germany is living a full and healthy life ; it is a great power in the country. We shall presently have to describe some features of its magnificent system of social works which challenges the admiration of the world. But sixty years ago such a system seemed impossible. True, individual Catholics were giving their attention to social questions ; but they could not arouse general interest. The forces were there, indeed, but they were latent. Only a genius could call them forth, such a man as appears but once in a century. Bishop Kettèler—of whom to our discredit we know so little in England, though his name is a household word in Germany—was more than the man of his century. He was, as the eminent historian Janssen has told us, a man such as appèars but once in a thousand years. His personality is stamped upon the organisation of Catholic Germany. He gave the Centre Party their social programme, he initiated movements which have spread over the world, and he stands for all time as the herald of a new phase in the beneficent activity of the Catholic Church. His books have made history, and his spirit still stirs a continent. Obviously our sketch of Catholic social work in Germany must begin with some account of his personality and his life-work.

Wilhelm Emmanuel Baron von Ketteler, Bishop of Mainz, lived a life that reads like romance. A stormy giant of a university student he joins the civil service, quits it in disgust, and becomes the parish priest of an obscure village where he makes the beds of his typhus-stricken parishioners and wins the hearts of all the children. Forced into a bishopric, he drills his diocese with a rod of iron and loves the poor with the tenderness of a woman. He is a man of action rather than a student; yet he pours out a flood of books and pamphlets which at once become classics. His enterprise in social reform wins the approval of the most conservative among his brother-bishops, and likewise of that arch-Socialist Ferdinand Lassalle. Magnificent in presence, strong voiced, domineering, he is as simple as a child and as humble as a Franciscan. He is no visionary, but a man of shrewd practical sense, living through some of the darkest days which the Church in Germany has ever witnessed. Yet he remains an optimist to the last.

We can only permit ourselves a few glimpses of his life prior to his episcopal consecration in 1850. We note that, like so many illustrious Catholics in the last century, he was a Westphalian—a true son of the "red earth," impetuous, fearless, chivalrous. His Jesuit masters at Brieg, in Valais, found him something of a young pickle—an honest and imperious little rascal, of the type in which your true schoolmaster delights. His undergraduate days

at Göttingen were even stormier. We hear of "raggings" and of a duel which proved more serious than is usual in such academic encounters. In 1834 at the age of twenty-three he accepts a governmental post at Munster. But four years later the Archbishop of Cologne is imprisioned by the government in the fortress at Minden, and Ketteler resigns in a fury. "One must have a very strong digestive organ," he writes to his sister Sophy, "not to die with rage at the sight of these atrocities." This was by no means the last outbreak of a stormy nature. The lion in Wilhelm Ketteler, in spite of heroic repression was, as we shall see, to break out into somewhat unconventional manifestations even in an episcopal palace. Tempestuous and passionate, his final self-command was the result of a discipline little short of amazing. He was not, we frankly admit, a ready-made saint. But his life is none the less interesting on that account. Nor is it, we think, less edifying.

Those who doubt the reality of a vocation to the priesthood may read Ketteler's letters during the months that followed. The call was as clear as a trumpet-blast; but his humility wrestled with it. He knew his own violent nature better even than did his friends, and he knew the self-repression demanded of a priest. Finally, after much prayer and hesitation, he yielded and went to Munich to study his theology under Görres, Döllinger and Phillips.

A few years later we find him as a priest

regenerating the little village of Hopsten on the borders of Hanover—a "country-vicar" after the manner of Yves le Querdec, teaching his parishioners book-keeping, burying the dead during an epidemic and constituting himself the father of the whole country-side. The district, in spite of its Protestant majority, elected him almost unanimously as its representative in the Parliament of Frankfort.

We may picture him among the 600 deputies who sat in the church of St Paul in the midst of riots and "stunk of *canaille*," as Prince Lichnowsky bluntly put in. It was certainly a change from parochial book-keeping; and the parish priest found himself in heterogeneous company which, however, included a few bishops, some forty priests, Döllinger, and a sprinkling of dons. Ketteler at once struck the note which he was to sound with such effect later on. He pleaded for the liberty of the Church, for liberty of teaching. He pleaded, too, for a sound democracy which, while it gave power to the people should give them also a political, social and religious formation, and so enable them to use that power aright. The "democrats" of the day, whom he vigorously accused of fostering despotism, looked at him askance. So did his aristocratic friends, who regarded him as a Radical. But he made his mark; and when Prince Lichnowsky and General Auerswald were murdered by the *canaille* he was called upon to pronounce their funeral discourse—a sufficiently

delicate task in the circumstances, and one which exposed the speaker to personal danger. The democrats awaited an attack on the aristocracy for having driven the people to revolt. The aristocracy anticipated a trenchant condemnation of a democracy which had issued in assassination. Ketteler administered a dignified rebuke to both parties. The real murderers, he said, were not the people, but the men who were trying to rob the people of their religion. Atheism and radicalism were reaping the whirlwind, and the lesson was plain to see.

A few days later we find him taking a prominent part in the first of those great annual Catholic congresses which have done so much to bind German Catholics together. His enthusiasm and hopefulness were already infectious. He took for his theme "The Liberty of the Church and the Social Question," to which he gave a somewhat unexpected and highly significant turn. "Religion needs freedom. Yes, but freedom needs religion. If the people do not come back to religion, they cannot bear freedom." It was the lesson of the funeral oration once more. Then followed a trenchant criticism of Socialism. Socialism had no religious basis, and hence was essentially a delusion. Catholics must themselves take the social question in hand. Social questions were more actual and more urgent than political questions. This was a hard saying at Mainz in 1848. To-day, in England, it should be a truism. Yet how many Catholics appear to realise it?

We cannot refrain from quoting a few words from this memorable speech:

> One task for the immediate future I urge upon you once more: I mean the task of bringing religion to bear upon social conditions. The most difficult question, and one which has not yet been solved by any legislation or by any constitution, is the social question. I can say in all sincerity that the difficulty, the magnitude, the urgency of this task fill me with the greatest joy. I do not rejoice at poverty: I sympathise with it from the bottom of my heart. Nor do I rejoice at the misery of my brethren. No, but I rejoice because it will now inevitably be made clear which church possesses the power of Divine truth. It will be seen that the final solution of the social question rests mainly with the Catholic Church. The State has not the power to solve it, whatever resolutions it may pass. A similar thought has been expressed by a Protestant minister in the Church of St Paul [*i.e.*, at the Parliament at Frankfort]. "The fight between Protestant and Catholic will forthwith subside in the domain of dogma; but it will arise in the domain of the social problem."

This speech made a profound impression, and stood out as the weightiest utterance delivered during the congress. Catholics felt that a new horizon was opening out before them. Beda Weber has described in glowing imagery the tall, strong figure of the priest dominating the great assembly, and the fearless energy and speech which promised to rebuild the Catholic Church in Germany more speedily and more magnificently than human art could restore the great Cathedral of Cologne. And at the banquet which followed Ketteler, while proposing in touching terms the health of "the poor of the

German people," begged that such a toast might not be an empty mockery, but that Catholics would co-operate in heart and hand for the welfare of the poor.

The same message was to be delivered in and out of season. Ketteler's whole soul revolted at the doctrine of the current political economy. He saw that the increasing application of machinery was leading to an exploitation of the working classes which the Catholic School, following St Thomas Aquinas, must brand as unnatural and immoral. The true notion of the rights and duties of property must be impressed on men's minds. The true notion of liberty must be vindicated, and the banner of Catholic social reform unfurled. This was the burden of a series of six conferences on The Great Social Questions of the Day now delivered in the Cathedral at Mainz, at the invitation of the Bishop. The summons "to re-establish all things in Christ" was sounded authoritatively, and found a response. The cathedral was packed hours before each discourse.

In the very first of these conferences Ketteler again emphasised his belief that the social question was the most important question of the day. The real difficulty of the situation did not lie in politics at all. Even under the best form of government miseries might abound. There was need of a deeper analysis.

If we wish to know our age, we must endeavour to fathom the social question. The man who under-

stands that knows his age. The man who does not understand it finds the present and the future an enigma.

In the second conference he exposed the visionary nature of the reforms advocated by professed socialists. His intimate knowledge of the actual conditions of the working classes, together with his own shrewd good sense, gave a special value to his criticisms.

So long as these authors confine themselves to generalities, one would believe them to be public benefactors, and to have discovered the secret of multiplying bread. But look at their practical proposals and you will pity them.

Two years later we find Ketteler elevated to the See of St Boniface—the Bishopric of Mainz—which had of late fallen on evil days. Rationalism had infected the theological faculties in the universities, there were serious divisions among the secular clergy, and the revolutionary spirit was making havoc of religion among the working classes. "God help the new bishop!" wrote Mgr Geissel at the time. "Mainz has sunk very low. . . . It will be difficult to re-establish union. Strength and decision alone will avail." Ketteler had to create the material with which he was to work.

His reforms among the clergy need not here concern us. Suffice it to say that, in spite of the opposition of the Government, he instituted a sound system of ecclesiastical training, and established a theological seminary of his own which became famous, and attracted professors

like Moufang, Heinrich, Haffner and Brueck. He instituted clergy retreats and enforced discipline with a vigour which provoked some remonstrance. His Canons on one occasion presented him with an address in which they acknowledged his devoted services to the diocese, but pointed out that his somewhat tempestuous methods were liable to create scandal. The Bishop, with characteristic humility, replied that he would endeavour to correct the fault. His priests grew devoted to him, and not one of them failed him when it came to the ordeal of the Kulturkampf. Yet they sometimes allowed themselves to comment on his ebullitions. One of them circulated the story that Ketteler, while out shooting, as a young man, had once in a fit of passion brained a blundering pointer. "I never did that," was the Bishop's remark when the story came to his ears; "I loved my dogs too well."

In his efforts to grapple with the social problem, the new Bishop was no less vigorous than in securing the independence of the Church. Indeed, the two causes were, as we have seen, intimately connected in his eyes. "Religion needs freedom, and freedom needs religion." Any temporising where the liberties of the Church were concerned filled him with anger. "I think," he wrote to a colleague in 1865, "that the bloodiest persecutions have done less harm to the Church than the courtly servility of bishops." And on the other hand, he regarded himself as

bound in a special way by his episcopal office to protect the working classes against unjust exploitation. In the preface to his book on The Labour Question and Christianity, he recalls his promise made at his consecration to succour the poor and the unfortunate. Henceforth, he says, it became not merely a right but a duty to concern himself with the social problem.

Social and charitable institutions now began to spring up in the diocese with amazing rapidity. Homes for waifs and strays and for fallen women were among his first enterprises. A Prisoner's Aid Society followed. Nursing sisters were established in Mainz, and the formation of a society for the aid of the sick was urged upon all deaneries. Guilds for apprentices and artisans multiplied in all the towns. Another institution, extended to many parishes, provided for female domestic servants in sickness and old age. The Bishop encouraged the leading Catholics of Mainz to acquire a somewhat imposing building in the centre of the town for the purposes of a club. "This is better than building a church," he said. Yet he yielded to no man in his zeal for the glory of God's temples. As a matter of fact, the Catholic Club at Mainz came to bear a considerable share in furthering the interests of Catholicism.

The Bishop even projected an undenominational society to provide cheap dwellings for the poor at low prices. And besides founding specific institutions, he displayed a vigilant

activity in all matters which affected the labouring population. His protest was constantly being raised against examples of injustice and oppression, even outside his own diocese.

It must not be imagined that Ketteler confined his attention to the temporal wants of his diocese, to the neglect of spiritual needs. The latter do not immediately concern us here; but we may note in passing that he was an indefatigable preacher, and that he reintroduced the practice of parochial missions, five hundred of which were given in his diocese within a space of seventeen years.

"If St Paul were alive to-day, he would certainly run a newspaper," is a saying of Kettler's, which has often been quoted in various forms. It was uttered during one of his unconventional but astonishingly effective Confirmation sermons. "The power of the Press" is just one of those tremendous truths which, as Coleridge says, "are so true that they lose all the power of truth, and lie bedridden in the dormitory of our soul." Ketteler refused to harbour such mental paralytics. He believed in the power of the press, and he acted on his belief. That he should write a book at all was antecedently unlikely; he seemed far more fitted to lead a cavalry regiment into action. Yet he set himself to write with the result that he filled a generation of editors, authors and journalists with envy. Books and pamphlets poured from his pen. Whenever there was a wrong to be

righted, a misunderstanding to be cleared up, a Catholic truth to be vindicated, Ketteler would launch a publication, and all Germany would read it. His letters to the newspapers were beyond all reckoning. He never allowed a calumny to pass uncontradicted, or an attack on Catholics to remain unanswered. And when he first came to Mainz such calumnies and attacks were of daily occurrence. The Catholics seem to have lost their nerve, and allowed themselves to be the object of systematic slander and insult. To stand on their rights never occurred to them until Ketteler appeared in their midst.

All his writings whether defensive or expository are stamped with his character. He had little of literary artifice. Clear, brief and incisive, he got to the heart of the matter at once. He was never dull; his rousing personality seemed to inspire every line that he wrote.

His first book, *Liberty, Authority and the Church*, was published in 1862, ran through several editions in a few months, and was translated into French, Spanish and Hungarian. It was the fruit of his experience since the days of the Frankfort Parliament. It was not so much a theory as a programme. His object was to form a united body of Catholics who should impress upon their generation the true principles of liberty and authority, and should bring the influence of the Church to bear upon the social question. In particular he was anxious to foster an influential Catholic Press which

should speak with no uncertain voice upon these important matters. His notion of a Catholic newspaper was that it should lead men and not merely chronicle their doings; enlighten them, and not merely reproduce their opinions.

In order that we may take our part in public life with unanimity, and with all that spiritual force which beyond a doubt exists in Catholic Germany, we must above all things know *what we want.*

In 1863 the fifteenth Catholic general congress was held at Frankfort. The event is noteworthy, since it was at this congress that the results of Ketteler's propaganda were first generally recognised. Social questions had, as we saw, been given a place in their congresses from the beginning. But on this occasion they took the first place. We may quote one of the preliminary resolutions:

The General Congress shall consider what can and should be done by Catholics to ameliorate the social position of artisans and labourers, and to warn them against participating in tendencies which, in reality, would promote neither their spiritual nor their material welfare.

On three afternoons various social needs were discussed and specific remedies suggested. That the members were alive to the urgency of the matter may be seen from one of the resolutions in which the congress recommended Catholics to engage earnestly in the study of social questions, since these questions could only be solved in the light and through the spirit of Christianity.

Immediately after the congress Ketteler got to work on one of his most important books, *The Labour Question and Christianity*, which appeared a few months later. It was the outcome of many years of observation and patient study. He had spared no pains to master the true inwardness of the social movements which were stirring through the country, and to devise practical methods of bringing them into line with Christian principles. In the present volume he drew a striking picture of the unsatisfactory position of the working classes, traced the causes which had led to it, and described the efforts which were being made to remedy it by Liberals and Radicals, contrasting them with the practical remedies which Catholic reformers were even then beginning to advocate. The book ran through three editions within the year and was in many respects epoch-making. Letters and addresses of thanks from university professors and workmen's clubs poured in. A Protestant mechanic in welcoming the book agreed that the dissolution of family life was the great plague of modern times; "We live like heathens," he said, "and we must fare as heathen nations have fared. We do not fulfil the ends for which God created us. Therefore we must perish." Twenty-five years later Windthorst spoke of the book as marking a new epoch in Germany and saluted Ketteler as "above all others the revered guide and champion of Catholic social effort." He added some words which deserve to be remembered:

It is and ever will be our glory that it was a Catholic prelate who first had the courage to hoist the flag of Christian social reform; and this at a time when the Manchester school completely ruled public opinion.

The effect of the book was, moreover, seen in the stimulus which it gave to Catholic publicists and students of economics. Dr Moufang, Professor Lujo Brentano and other eminent writers were enlisted in the cause. Catholic Associations began to multiply, and the Catholic Press gave a further extension to the teaching of the "Workmen's Bishop." Lassalle himself read extracts from the book at a Socialist banquet amid considerable applause, though the general tendency of Socialists was to sneer at Ketteler's efforts as quixotic. They themselves were not satisfied with any remedy short of an upheaval of society. On the other hand Ketteler was suspected by the Conservatives of sympathy with Socialism and was accused of inciting the working classes to rebellion. The Bishop who was always accessible to sane criticism was strong enough to disregard the attacks of extremists.

"Can a good Catholic be a Socialist?" is a question often proposed to Catholic priests in this country; and the answer is sometimes made to turn on the vagueness of the term "Socialist." The question was put to Ketteler in a more definite form. Three Catholic workmen wrote to him from Dünwald to know whether they were bound to sever their connection with Lassalle's labour union. Their parish priest had

refused them absolution for continuing to belong to it. The Bishop replied at great length, distinguishing between the original scope of the labour union (with which he found no fault) and the devolopments which had lately taken place within it. Had Lassalle's original idea with regard to the union been kept in sight, there would have been little objection to Catholics joining it. But as it was, the union had become an instrument of anti-Catholic agitation, and as such must be avoided. The Bishop was careful to impress upon the men that the Church sympathised with them in their legitimate efforts to remove economic abuses, and that her antagonism to Socialist action was in the best interests of the men themselves.

For many years Ketteler's book continued to furnish his adversaries with weapons against him. A National Liberal speaker in the Reichstag in 1871 accused the Catholics of fomenting revolution, and quoted the following passage from *The Labour Question and Christianity*:

> Why then, for Heaven's sake, should the Sovereign will of the people be brought to a standstill by the coffers of the wealthy Liberals? Shall the new social order suddenly halt as though enchanted before the purses of these millionaires? No, no, God will take care that this shall never be.

Such a sentence, taken from its context, was of course liable to misrepresentation. Ketteler replied in an open letter, in which he disclaimed any tendency to preach revolution. In all his protests against the crushing abuses of capitalism

he had maintained the necessity of constitutional action. As to his concerning himself with the question at all, he considered himself bound to do so in his double capacity of priest and bishop.

In some interesting memoranda written at this time, and found among his papers after his death, we read his opinion of the English Trade Unions:

> They are justifiable as are incisions in a sick body; they pre-suppose a condition of sickness, and under the circumstances they are relatively good. The workman must be given freedom. All legislative hindrances to the formation of associations must be removed. On the other hand, there must be no participation in the deception of the working classes, as though these Trade Unions were of themselves a sufficient remedy.

He admits an element of good in the corresponding German varieties of trade union; but complains that they have been exploited in the interests of secularism and so lost much of their value.

He had more faith in the efforts which were being made not merely to unite the working classes into different unions, but to form them into productive associations in which they should receive a substantial share of the profits. The trade union makes of the workmen a class apart and has a tendency to embitter them against the rest of society. What is wanted is to graft them into the social organisation and enable them to participate in the life of the whole body. Co-operative associations were the Bishop's special

object of study, though he came to recognise the difficulties in the way of their general extension.

He saw that "self help" had broken down on the one hand, and, on the other, that the State could not be trusted to assume the entire control of labour. He looked, therefore, to a universal system of compulsory trade association, combined with a measure of self-help, recognised and aided by the Government and supplied with a Christain basis by the Church. Catholic influence, he thought, was quite indispensable. It alone could develop a sentiment of justice and moderation which would keep the social organism healthy. Yet the State too must co-operate by enforcing protective legislation, by inspection and by providing capital in exceptional cases.

Ketteler brought home to his generation the fact that Christianity really has an important bearing on social questions. He disposed of the Socialistic contention that religion was a matter that could be left to stand over — a matter of the inner life merely. He showed that the actual functioning of society was dependent upon the presence of a religion which should manifest itself in outward act. Thus in a striking address to workmen in 1869 he dealt with some of the claims put forward by the labouring classes, and estimated how far they were in accordance with Catholic teaching. Demands for an increase of salary, for instance, cannot be pushed beyond a certain point without causing a breakdown in a whole industry.

Exorbitant claims are suicidal. But exorbitant the claims of the workman will certainly be, unless he has schooled himself to sobriety, economy and thrift, and learnt to rise above not only egotism but class-selfishness. But the Catholic Church is needed to keep these moral forces in constant play. Again, let the men by all means secure a diminution of the excessive hours of labour. But let them learn to give part at least of the time thus gained to family duties and religious obligations; otherwise demoralisation and the dislocation of industry would be the only result. With regard to the prohibition of child-labour, the Bishop was as explicit as his hearers could desire. Such labour was "a monstrous cruelty," due largely to the selfishness of parents. It maimed soul and body alike. Catholics, in fine, might associate themselves on the whole with the aspirations and movements of the working classes without violating the principles of their religion. Indeed their religion gave them additionl motives for so doing. And their efforts would be vain unless guided by Christian principles.

In 1869, Ketteler had an opportunity of impressing his social doctrines upon his brother bishops. An episcopal conference took place at Fulda, and the Bishop of Mainz was charged with the drawing up of reports dealing with Catholic efforts on behalf of various classes of the working population. Of these the report dealing with the condition of factory hands was the most

important. In the course of it Ketteler pointed out the rôle which the Church was called upon to play in the solution of the social question. He disposed of the objection that this question was not sufficiently ripe to justify the interference of the Church. He was of opinion that the clergy should encourage the formation of workmen's associations, and give them all the help in their power.

The bishops endorsed Ketteler's views, and the result of their deliberations will come as a surprise to those who would confine the activity of the priest to the altar and the confessional. What, for instance, could be more enterprising than the following recommendations, which deserve a careful study?

> The Church must awaken interest in the condition of the working classes, especially among the clergy. These are often little interested in the matter, because they are not convinced of the actual existence, magnitude and pressing danger of social evils. They do not grasp the nature and extent of the social question, and they are entirely in the dark as to the method of helping towards a solution. The social question, therefore, must be no longer neglected in the training of the clergy in philosophy and pastoral theology. It is much to be desired that individual priests should be induced to take up the study of Political Economy, and should be furnished with travelling expenses in order that they may learn to know from personal observation . . . both the needs of the working classes and the institutions which help to meet them. . . .
>
> It would scarcely be profitable to call into existence an ecclesiastical organisation for the purpose, which should embrace the whole of Germany. It is to be

feared that such an organisation would be wanting in vitality. The solution of the labour question is, moreover, rather a local matter, since men's needs and the remedies for those needs vary considerably. . . . On the other hand, so far from being open to objection, it would appear to be in the highest degree desirable that in each diocese, without further delay, one or more fit and proper persons, clerical or lay, should be appointed and commissioned to interest themselves in the labour question. They should compile statistics of the factories and workshops, and of the operatives in their respective districts, and should inform themselves as to the physical, intellectual, moral and religious condition of those operatives, as well as of the institutions and organisations which have been set on foot in their districts for the well-being of the working classes and the improvement of their condition. A meeting of these diocesan deputies either for each State, or for the whole of Germany should be arranged, at which each might report on his own diocese, and a general consultation be held as to ways and means of solving the labour question.

The result of the conference at Fulda was to interest the clergy of all Germany in social subjects. Priests now began to exert that influence upon the course of social reform which they exercise to-day with such good effect. They multiplied associations for the working classes, and they set themselves to study and apply the principles which Ketteler had for the last twenty years been preaching with such assiduity. The *Christlich-sociale Blätter* was founded and proved an invaluable guide to the clergy, who were kept in touch with the latest results of social study. The supply of Catholic literature on the subject

has grown apace in Germany from that day to this.

Ketteler's last book was published in 1875 and was entitled, *The Catholics in the German Empire*. In it he laid stress upon the duty of the Government to assist in the organisation of co-operative associations and to protect workmen and their families against unjust exploitation. In particular, he demanded that the State should prohibit labour to children under fourteen and to married women in factories, and should secure the observance of Sunday, the inspection of factories and the limitation of the hours of labour. These demands were incorporated in the subsequent programme of the Centre Party.

Pietas ad omnia utilis est. Ketteler was ever urging the connection between religion and popular welfare. Not many years before his death he delivered to 10,000 workmen at Offenbach a stirring address on this subject, which he afterwards published as a pamphlet, dedicating it to "the Christian Workmen of my Diocese." Decurtins, one of the most eminent of Ketteler's disciples, spoke of it as being among the weightiest pronouncements ever made on the Catholic side with regard to the social question and its solution.

And in 1876 the Bishop wrote :

> In the course of my episcopal visitations last year, I have often spoken of the relation between Christian virtues and popular welfare. People regard the former very properly as being the way to Heaven ;

but they are not often sufficiently aware that these same virtues are also the right way to happiness on earth ; indeed, that for most men they are a necessary condition of temporal well-being.

Ketteler's last years were saddened though his energy was not diminished by the *Kulturkampf*. For a quarter of a century he had looked to Prussia as a nation which would eventually give the Catholic Church her necessary freedom of action and allow her to bring her healing influence to bear upon the social evils of the day. He seems to have credited the Empire with a sort of providential mission. He was not disillusionised until Bismarck turned round to rend asunder the Catholics who had helped him to crush France. The story of Ketteler's share in the great struggle for Catholic independence cannot be told here, though it forms one of the most stirring chapters of his life. Elected to the Reichstag in 1871 he was the intrepid fighter to the last.

In 1877 the people of Mainz crowded to the railway station to speed their Bishop on a journey to Rome. A few weeks later the same crowd met, silent and tearful, to receive his dead body. He had been taken ill on the return journey and died in a Capuchin monastery in Bavaria. His death was followed by an outburst of lamentation throughout Germany. The great figure which had dominated the First Catholic Congress some thirty years before had come to dominate the whole country. Ketteler stood, in

the eyes of friend and foe alike, for the embodiment of the Catholic cause. His great voice rang out on the battlefield, rousing the slothful and rallying the straggler. The very sight of the man inspired confidence; watchful, untiring and resolute, he was always to be found where the fight was thickest. Everything about him suggested power—the firm pose, the strong mouth, the terrible eyes. "Son front ridé semble receler des orages dans ses plis," says a French biographer. The lion lurked in him till the last.

Like St Paul he could face an angry crowd unmoved, for he thought it a small thing to be judged by a man. Yet again like St Paul he had another side to his character of which we must say a word unless we are to give a totally false impression of the man. Had his life been nothing but "threatenings and slaughter" he would not have captured the hearts of the people as he did. "A gloomy German of the North," he called himself; but he was the idol of little children, and the natural confidant and friend of the poorest in his parish and beyond it.

His letters to his family are full of a tender playfulness. Never did grand-nephews and grand-nieces find so charming a correspondent. The weight of his anxieties never seemed to diminish the gaiety and freshness of his relations with them. "I know nothing in the world more painful than separations," he wrote to his brother. "I can never forgive the man who

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invented them." His love for the poor was no less personal and intimate. He was not of the number of those who are devoted to "the lower orders" in the abstract, and who are singularly ill at ease in the company of concrete representatives of those orders. He was devoted to his confessional and would spend in it ten hours without a break. He loved to sit among the poor at the services in the Cathedral. He was never so happy as when taking part in parochial work. To his servants he was the kindest of masters; the only matter for which he could reproach himself was that he had nothing to bequeath them when he died. At Easter he would serve fifteen poor men at his own table; and he lived like a poor man himself. He kept no carriage, his furniture was scanty and cheap, his food that of a peasant, and he slept on a straw mattress with a single blanket for a covering.

Those who knew him intimately spoke of the strength and tenderness of his spirituality. He rose at five for meditation and spent a large part of the day in prayer. St Peter's phrase about "the hidden man of the heart" was often on his lips. He had no confidence in outward activity unsupported by interior holiness. And so it came about that he was, to an extraordinary degree, truthful. He acted simply,—from within outward. "I have no thought which I should be afraid to disclose," he said. And again:

There are many proofs of Christianity: but among

them not the least important is the interior one. Christianity makes us through and through interiorly true. The wisdom of the world, on the contrary, makes us false to ourselves.

His fervid championship of the working classes and his denunciations of capitalistic tyranny earned for him the reproach of being a Socialist. But his attitude to Socialism was quite plain. He advocated State interference in the conditions of production and distribution, but limited it to cases where the workmen's own organisations were insufficient. He was a staunch partisan of civil liberty against centralised despotism.

Ketteler was a man of many disappointments. But he succeeded in making the Catholics of Germany realise their power and their mission in the country. Nor was it a mere vague enthusiasm that he bequeathed to them. He left behind him a programme of social reform which has been taken up and carried through, point by point, by the Centre Party. When in February, 1893, a Social Democratic member of the Reichstag endeavoured to claim Ketteler's sanction for his own theories, and twitted the Catholics with apathy in the matter of social reform, Dr Hitze promptly took up the challenge and claimed the Bishop as the prophet and guide of the Centre.

We shall always come back to this great social politician. We shall always point to Ketteler as the man whom we have to thank for our social programme. We shall build on his foundations;

opposition between him and ourselves there is none.

Nor is it merely in Germany that his influence has made itself felt. Catholic leaders in many lands have gladly acknowledged their indebtedness to his teaching and to his example. His faith in the Church as the good Samaritan of wounded humanity made him a prophet to his own and to future generations. And if at first he seemed but a voice crying in the wilderness, yet by degrees he brought out men to listen and peopled the desert. The Catholics of Germany were wont to liken him to St John the Baptist for the austerity of his life. But there was more than that in the comparison. Like the Baptist he had rough ways to make plain. Like the Baptist, too, he was forgetful of self and looked for one that was to come. He was confident that a Vicar of Christ would shortly arise who would bid the Church "go to the people." Not only did he anticipate Pope Leo's teaching, but he predicted Pope Leo's coming. In a letter to a friend in 1872 he wrote :

> I have an invincible conviction that the time will come when God will send the world a Pope who will know how to awaken in the Church all her divine forces. Nothing is more deeply anchored in my soul than the belief that great and wonderful things will be realized by this Pope.

And if Ketteler testified to Leo, Leo was not unmindful of Ketteler. "The Workmen's Pope" set the seal of Peter upon the social

teaching of the "Workmen's Bishop," and gave it as a charter to the world. And once when the work of the Bishop of Mainz was spoken of in his presence, he said :

"Ketteler was my great precursor."

ESSAY II

THE AUTUMN MANŒUVRES.

When in the year 1848 Wilhelm von Ketteler, the parish priest of Hopsten, preached the gospel of social reform at the Catholic Congress held in Mainz, he was addressing an institution which, more than any other was to carry on his own peculiar work and perpetuate his influence. Had no such institution been in existence Ketteler's teaching might have been forgotten. He himself succeeded in awakening a "social sense" among his fellow Catholics: but a permanent organisation was needed to keep that sense in healthy operation. Such an organisation was found in the annual Congresses of the Catholics of Germany.

It will be advisable here to sketch the history of these Congresses for two reasons. In the first place they account in great measure for the intelligent interest in social work which may be said to be the rule among the Catholics of Germany. And secondly they enable us to trace the gradual and orderly growth of the various specific social organisations which might

otherwise bewilder us by their number and complexity.

With regard to the first point it must be noted that these congresses supply just that want which is so often felt by Catholic workers in other lands. They bring together once a year an immense number of Catholics drawn from every class of society, and representing almost every religious and social institution. They are "general assemblies" in the fullest sense of the term. Politicians and peasants, noblemen and labourers, journalists and journeymen, university students, artists, priests and bishops, all meet together for five days in unaffected *camaraderie* to work for the interests of the Church and civilisation.

A French-writer has called these congresses "a sacrament of unity," and it would certainly be difficult to find elsewhere gatherings in which such seemingly incongruous elements are so completely fused. Even the anti-Catholic Press in Germany is forced to recognise the important part played by these annual meetings in the life of the nation. This unity will appear all the more remarkable when we remember that it is a question of uniting a number of men who not only stand for the most diverse interests, but who practically represent different nationalities. Northerner and southerner differ far more widely in Germany than do Yorkshire man and Sussex man among ourselves.

These meetings were, as we shall see, primarily

intended for the defence of Catholic liberties. But it has been realised from the first that those liberties will best be defended where Catholics throw themselves into the stream of public life and endeavour to make themselves useful citizens. It is felt that a widespread interest among Catholics in what may loosely be called "social work" is a necessity of the times. Not otherwise can Catholics secure that influence in the new democracy which is essential for the protection of their strictly religious liberties. Isolation in these days would be fatal. The Centre party could not hold its own in the Reichstag if it had no policy save the defence of Catholic liberties. It would no longer be the "impregnable tower" that it is, were its efforts limited to obstruction and protest. It has gained its position by identifying itself with the best interests in the country. The same might be said of the other Catholic forces in the Empire. They express themselves in practical work the value of which any man can see for himself. And so it comes about that the Catholics of Germany are not an isolated community, standing aloof from the aspirations of the people. They at least have no need to be told to "go to the people." They are among the people. They *are* the people; and their vivid Christian consciousness has led them to expend that thought and care on social problems which true charity in these days demands of us.

And if Catholic principles have won a hearing because embodied in institutions of national

value, so, on the other hand, the social work of the German Catholics has gained indefinitely in power and precision from being closely associated with religious principles. We cannot help being struck by the magnificent strength and perfect co-ordination of the great fabric of social work, social science and social legislation which the Catholics of Germany have built up during the past half century. We feel that their religion has given them guiding principles which alone can account for the stability of their work. It has given them, too, the detachment and devotedness necessary for such work; and finally it has given them the confidence and enthusiasm which has enabled them to carry it through.

It was Windthorst who first called these congresses the "autumn manœuvres" of the Catholic forces. It was a hostile newspaper, if we mistake not, that first gave them the name of "the review of the Catholic troops." Both these terms will help us to realise the part which they play in the Catholic life of the Empire. In other countries we are accustomed to find a few discouraged Catholic thinkers and a few over-burdened Catholic workers struggling in a heroic but disorganised fashion to conquer the apathy of the great mass of their co-religionists. But in Germany the stragglers are the exception. Almost every available man is drilled and made part of the fighting force. He is given his post to defend and his work to do, whether in workmen's club or students' union or professional

association. He goes to the Congress or he is represented at it. His activities are brought into relation with those of all his fellow Catholics in every state of life. He feels that he is taking a personal part in momentous evolutions upon which the welfare of his Church and his country depend. He is not a mere spectator at a pageant, but a soldier taking part in manœuvres performed by the whole of a great army. The speakers to whom he listens are not merely distinguished orators who have attracted his curiosity. They are his fellow soldiers with whom he converses on intimate terms.

We have said that these congresses give us a comprehensive view of the many Catholic social institutions which flourish in Germany. The reason of this is, of course, that practically all these institutions are represented at the Congress, and that very many of them take occasion to hold their annual meetings and publish their results at the same gathering. Their autonomy is, of course, respected; but they profit considerably by the opportunity of getting into touch with other societies, learning local needs, and essaying fresh developments. Their efforts are co-ordinated, and their aims, methods and results are made known to the whole country. More than this; specific social and charitable societies are not merely fostered by the congresses. They are in many cases created. Where almost every existing Catholic institution is represented it becomes easy to discover what

further institutions are wanted. As fresh needs arise the congresses call into being new organisations to meet them. Hence we have but to sketch the history of the congresses in order to get a fairly complete picture of the elaborate system of Catholic social works to be found in Germany to-day.

These congresses are, of course, something more than a central meeting of Catholic social workers. They are great religious gatherings, intended primarily for the fostering of the Catholic faith and the defence of Catholic interests. True, their social side is so important that in any case we should have to take them into account in dealing with Catholic social work in Germany. But, as a matter of fact, we have no intention of prescinding from their frankly religious character. To do so would be to overlook the secret of their success. All social work must be based on some theory of the meaning and value of life; and the better the theory the better *ceteris paribus* will be the work. The explanation of the unity and enthusiasm of the Catholic congresses and of their successful social organisation is not to be found in the desire for higher wages or improved sanitation. Unity and enthusiasm alike spring from a belief in the Catholic doctrine of the Communion of Saints. Wages and drains are held by Catholics to be all the more significant because not an end in themselves.

We have to bear in mind that during the early

part of the last century the Catholic Church in Germany was bound hand and foot by the State. Bishops had to transact ecclesiastical business through the medium of the Government, priests were dictated to in their every action by the civil authorities, and laymen found themselves deprived of essential religious liberties. We cannot stay to fill in the picture here. We must refer our readers to Bishop Brück or M. Georges Goyau for the details. Suffice it to say that the triumph of Erastianism seemed complete.

All this was endured by the Catholics with surprising resignation. The Government continued to put on the screw without misgivings. But in 1837 there was a snap. The Archbishop of Cologne was sent to prison for defending the rights of Catholic marriage; and people began to say to one another that the thing was being overdone. Catholic Germany was roused. Görres hid himself in his study for a month, and emerged with a bombshell in the shape of *Athanasius*. The book provoked much enthusiasm by its trenchant condemnation of Prussian methods and its ringing summons to the Catholics to defend their liberties. In 1844 some fifteen hundred thousand men came on pilgrimage to Treves. Virtue would seem to have gone out to them from Christ's seamless robe. The unity of the Church and her sanctity took hold of their minds. Timidly they began to reach out hands to each other. And although the authorities were ready to pounce down upon the smallest

exhibition of Catholic initiative, yet those same authorities began to be conscious that popular currents were running strong. Frederick William III admitted to Metternich that Catholicism had never before made such progress in his dominions as it had since the unlucky Cologne affair.

But it was a wave of secular revolution and not a Catholic agitation that brought the Governments of Germany toppling down like sand castles. The movement came from Paris not from Rome; and in 1848 the people elected to control their own destinies. The cry was for liberty of association and of the Press. The Catholics among the rest availed themselves of the new spirit without countenancing its excesses. They, too, claimed a share in the lately-won freedom. The Church must be the bondslave of the State no longer. The Bishops met at Würzburg and drew up a memorial to the German sovereigns in which they demanded freedom in ecclesiastical government. "If you do not give us liberty," they said in effect, "we cannot hope to check the excesses of the Revolution."

But episcopal memorials to secular powers are not commonly of much avail unless those powers are made to feel that their petitioners have at their back a compact and resolute body of Catholic citizens. Hence it became necessary to galvanise the Catholic laity into activity, and to drill them into an army. This was no easy task. Half a century of oppression had broken their spirit

and left them despondent and disorganised. Yet, timid as they were, they had been stirred by the trumpet blasts of Görres and his circle at Munich, of Geissel at Cologne, of Diepenbrock at Breslau, of Vicari at Freiburg. They were but waiting for a heaven-sent organiser. And such a one was at hand in the person of Adam Francis Lennig.

Lennig, the dean of the cathedral at Mainz, who combined a striking nobility of character with a fiery eloquence and a genius for organisation, set to work to mobilise the Catholic forces at Mainz. He was largely instrumental in bringing about the episcopal conference at Würzburg; and he now devoted his untiring energies to rousing the laity to a sense of their danger and their opportunity. It is interesting to recall the first beginnings of the great movement which followed. The story is an instructive one for those of us who are tempted to discouragement.

Professor Kaspar Riffel had been in the habit of giving popular lectures on historical subjects to the Catholics of Mainz. The lectures were followed with interest, and Riffel and his friend Lennig saw in the audience a nucleus for a new Catholic organisation. They proposed an association for the defence of Catholic liberties. But the response at first was feeble. People did not mind sitting at an amusing lecture, but they had considerable hesitation in coming out in the open and declaring their faith to the world, especially with revolutionary storms in the air. The project

was declared to be hopeless. Indeed, few men could have carried it through. But Lennig and Riffel were resolute, and their eloquence triumphed. Twenty-four men pledged themselves to start the new association. They were to meet again in a few days and bring new recruits. At this second meeting three hundred members were enrolled. The numbers grew, and meetings were held almost weekly, at which Lennig spoke on the questions of the day. Among his audience were two young men, Heinrich and Moufang, on whom his mantle was eventually to fall.

The new association was called the *Piusverein* in honour of the reigning Pontiff, and its object was the defence of religious liberties. Similar institutions sprang up all over Germany with astonishing rapidity. In a short time they numbered a hundred thousand members. Indeed, so rapid was their growth, that organisation could scarcely keep pace with expansion. A general meeting of delegates was arranged to take place at Mainz, the cradle of the movement, in October, 1848. This was the first of the great Catholic congresses with which the present article is concerned; but we must bear in mind that these congresses began not as general meetings of all the Catholics of Germany, but as general meetings of specific associations for the defence of Catholic interests. The gradual widening of the scope of the congresses deserves our careful attention, and we shall note the chief stages of

the process in the course of our sketch. We cannot do better than to follow somewhat closely the admirable history of the congresses by Pfarrer Joseph May.

The first general assembly, then, was marked by that enthusiasm and unity which have distinguished these gatherings ever since. After solemn High Mass on October 3, 1,500 delegates from all parts of Germany found themselves under the frescoed ceiling of the great hall of the Electoral Palace, listening to Lennig's opening speech. The eloquence, which but a few weeks before had stirred the twenty-four pioneers, played irresistibly upon the great audience, who felt surely that a new horizon was opening out before them. Lennig's speech sounded the note which every subsequent Congress was to re-echo.

> We have heard a good deal of two big words, Freedom and Association: and this time we have taken them up and made them our own. It is precisely freedom that we want, as we have openly declared; freedom in the sphere of religion and Christianity. It is to win freedom and to preserve it when won, against all the forces that threaten it on every side, against the assaults of faction and destruction, that we are here to-day. We are gathered here as comrades, members of one body which, as you know, is spread throughout our fatherland, to show ourselves as strong men armed against all foes, to prove moreover that we are not going to fall back again into the old listless ways.
>
> So we have met to see each other, to learn to know each other, to debate upon the best way of setting our house in order, and of spreading our influence abroad. We know that many will wonder not a little at our

action, will smile complacently at our efforts. Let them wonder! Let them have their little joke! Such men have a lot to learn who have not yet gripped the fact that Church and Religion are important elements in the life of the individual and the nation. Others will suspect our motives. Prejudice and passion will set us down as half rebels or as reactionaries; or we shall be looked upon as persecutors of other beliefs. To them we will only say this: Our fight is not against the Throne but only against the tyranny of Erastianism. Our fight is with absolutism in its application to religion. We are no enemies of the people's freedom, we are here in their midst to take our stand upon the ground of Liberty. We have no quarrel with liberty of conscience, we never meddle with the beliefs of other denominations, nay, rather, we now offer to these denominations, in accordance with our statutes, our united help whenever their liberty is threatened by those who would restrict it: and we hold ourselves entitled to a like fair treatment from them. In this struggle we put our trust in the respect of all right-thinking men, in the unfailing support of all Catholics, in our own determination and courage, in our Rights, and in the help of God.

A second public meeting was held the same evening at which Count von Andlaw, the aristocratic promoter of the Catholic movement in Baden, found himself speaking directly after a democrat of the most advanced type. The two shook hands cordially on the platform, and the Count referred in his speech to "our democrat whom I meet on common ground—that of the liberty of the Church." This was not bad for 1848. And the common ground was to broaden out considerably during the next half century.

Meanwhile the six secretaries were struggling

with the agenda upon which no less than three committees started work next morning at the heroic hour of six. The result was a satisfactory settlement of the procedure and the internal and external relations of the new Association. The limits of its operation were carefully defined, and its attitude determined in the face of the various Governments.

The public meeting next morning was attended by the twenty-three Catholic representatives of the Parliament of the German Federation then sitting at Frankfort. This was a most important event. The arrival of the political champions of Catholic freedom (among whom were such men as Ketteler, Döllinger, Förster and Reichensperger) did much to encourage the timorous and give prestige to the gathering. On the other hand it added considerably to the influence which these deputies already exercised in Parliament. The country saw that the twenty-three Catholic members were backed up by an association which numbered 100,000 citizens and was growing rapidly.

Döllinger was the first speaker. He delivered a powerful plea for Catholic liberty in worship and education, and pointed out how significant was the growth of a sound public opinion in the matter. The Parliament of Frankfort would be unable to resist it. It was the duty of the new Association to foster and strengthen that opinion, and to impress upon the country the just claims which the Church put forward.

This was the first of many valuable addresses delivered by Dr Döllinger to the congresses; and his services to the cause in those early years makes our regret at his final betrayal of that cause the more poignant.

The next speaker was Förster, afterwards Prince Bishop of Breslau, a sad-voiced poet who, alone of the speakers, seems to have let himself be overpowered at the sight of the overwhelming forces arrayed against German Catholics at that moment. They must fight and suffer, he said; but with little hope of victory. His speech hints at the obstacles to united action which had in the beginning made so many Catholics regard the Association as quixotic and even dangerous. But fortunately for the spirit of his hearers, the next speaker was Ketteler, of whose rousing exhortation on this occasion we have already spoken. For him the democratic movement had no terrors, despite his own lineage. "Liberty may bring its horrors, but it also brings to mankind the greatest blessings. Religion may rejoice at Liberty: for under the flag of Liberty she will develop to her full strength."

The social question came in for a fair share of discussion. As a practical measure it was determined to introduce into Germany the Society of St Vincent de Paul. We may note here that in nearly every congress similar resolutions to inaugurate specific Catholic works were introduced. We observe, with some astonishment, that this meeting lasted for six hours without interruption.

The third day was devoted to committee work, and provisional statutes were drafted. A memorial was drawn up, for presentation to the Frankfort Parliament, protesting against the recent legislation prejudicial to the liberties of the Church. This memorial drew thousands of similar protests from all parts of Germany, with the result that the Parliament came to realise the strength of Catholic convictions on the subject, and modified its legislation accordingly. The final public meeting was held on the evening of the fourth day. This first congress took place in Mainz exactly eleven hundred years after St Boniface had selected the city as a centre for the Catholic organisation of Germany. The coincidence was sufficiently striking, and was frequently referred to at the time.

The aims and methods of the new association are well set forth in the *Proceedings* of this first Congress. We are told that the local associations are to preserve their independence, and are to work according to their opportunities towards the aims set forth in the statutes. These aims are :

> The liberty of the Church and of the Christian people and the Christian family within the Church. This involves liberty of instruction and education. . . . The creation, maintenance aud fostering of Christian principles and Christian habits among the people ; the diminution and healing of socials evils and sufferings.
>
> The Association has nothing to do with party politics. It declines to bind itself to the fortunes of transient human institutions. It rests on the eternal foundations of Christianity. It believes that

by promoting a Christian spirit among the people it will be preparing the way for a great national regeneration.

Such was the strong hope that took possession of the Catholics of Germany in 1848. They felt the forces of Catholicism working in their midst. They had but to bring those forces to bear on the nation, and the result would be safety and healing for their distracted country. Definite ways and means were not before them yet. Their social consciousness would clarify in time; their Christian principles would find expression suited to the needs of the time. The main point was that they had confidence in the Catholic Church and knew that if they steeped themselves in her principles and united in her spirit they would be guided to great issues. And so it proved.

Of the second Congress, held at Breslau in the following May, little need be said. The city at that time was in a state of active revolution. Constant fights were taking place in the streets between the police and the revolutionaries, and all meetings were forbidden. An exception was made in favour of the Association on account of its non-political character. Some of the delegates were, not unnaturally, apprehensive, and suggested transferring the meeting elsewhere. But the majority were in favour of remaining, and the Congress passed off without mishap. It was at Breslau that the Association set itself to support the *Gesellenverein* which

had been founded in 1844 by Father Kolping, for the benefit of Catholic journeymen.

At the third Congress (Ratisbon, October, 1849) the *Bonifaciusverein* was founded, Count Stolberg becoming the first president. This society, like the *Gesellenverein* was to become an important institution in Germany. Its object is to protect the faith of Catholics in districts where they find themselves few in number and without resources. This it does by building churches, schools, orphanages and the like, and by supporting poor students in ecclesiastical seminaries. Since its foundation it has expended considerably more than £2,000,000 on these objects, and has established churches and other Catholic institutions in about 2,000 districts.

The fourth Congress (henceforth the meeting was to be annual) was held in Austria (Linz, September, 1850). Here again we see fresh institutions founded according to the needs of the time, among them a Catholic Women's Society, popular libraries and extension lectures. The Society of the Holy Childhood, and the *Borromaeusverein* are warmly commended. The latter will be dealt with later in connection with the Catholic Press in Germany. A committee was also appointed to consider the possibilities of a Catholic Art Society.

The fifth Congress was held at Mainz, and Ketteler, the new Bishop, took a prominent part in the proceedings. At the first meeting he congratulated the Association on having successfully

avoided two great dangers. It had kept out of party politics, and it had not encroached on episcopal jurisdiction. In the latter respect the congresses have always been remarkably sound. Despite the extent of their activities and the vigour with which they have initiated religious undertakings; despite the fact, too, that they are primarily gatherings of laymen, and that their president is never an ecclesiastic, they have from the first enjoyed the fullest sympathy and confidence of the hierarchy.

It would be interesting, if space permitted, to watch the progress of the Catholic movement in various parts of Germany as reflected in these congresses. Representatives from every district report on the Catholic life of their neighbourhood, and the *Proceedings* enable us to trace the work which was being done. Many of the details thus supplied are extremely striking. Thus in this Congress at Mainz we are told how the Catholic working women of Aix have formed themselves into a League for the purpose of assisting those who are poorer than themselves. During their dinner-hour they find time to visit the sick, sweep their rooms and prepare their meals. We hear, too, of a priest who organises a labour depôt which provides work for a hundred and fifty families during the winter. Such instances might be multiplied almost indefinitely.

It is not to be supposed that the Association had proceeded even thus far in its course

without opposition. The Prussian Government, in particular, was irritated by its success, and did its best to foment the jealousy with which the movement was regarded in Protestant circles. Professor Otto Meyer declared that the admission of Catholics to equal treatment with their fellow citizens was a slap in the face to the Protestant State. A rescript of 1852 subjected missioners to vexatious police control. Missions were actually forbidden in Protestant districts. A second rescript forbade Prussians to attend the German College in Rome under pain of banishment. This was the first violation of the twelfth article of the Prussian Constitution. In Baden the anti-Catholic feeling was even more bitter. There was a perfect epidemic of "no popery" outcries and scriptural denunciations of the kind with which we in this country have had experience.

The prevalent fanaticism evidently occupies the minds of the delegates at the sixth Congress at Münster; but we observe a complete absence of recrimination in their proceedings. The Catholic claims are advanced in a most temperate manner, which is in striking contrast with the spirit of the Gustavus Adolphus Society, the Protestant Union, the Evangelical Union and similar bodies, which neglected their own interests in order to embark on a campaign of calumny against the Catholic Church and all her works.

About this time a proposal is made to form a

society of Catholic experts in every branch of learning. The first step towards the realisation of this idea was afterwards taken by the Görres Society.

We may pass on to the tenth Congress (Cologne, 1858) which witnessed a most important change in the scope of these annual meetings. Invitations were sent out, not merely to representatives of local branches of the *Piusverein*, but to those of other Catholic Associations, many of which, as we saw, had been founded in the course of previous Congresses. Leading journalists, publicists, professional men and others were also invited, and the meetings took on the character of a Catholic parliament. The increase of business thus created led to two further changes. Proceedings now lasted for four days instead of three, and a charge was made for admission to the meetings.

The congresses gained immensely in prestige and influence by this infusion of new blood. Father Kolping brought a large number of presidents of the *Gesellenverein* who took occasion to have a meeting of their own, and who were thus able to bring the splendid results of their labours before the representatives of all parts of Germany. The same might be said of the other Catholic organisations now for the first time officially represented at the congresses. The Congress reflected them all, and the Press reflected the Congress. Hence every Catholic in

Germany was able to get a bird's eye view of all the Catholic social and charitable activity that was going on throughout the country. The experience of all was exhibited for the benefit of each. Every man and woman was made acquainted with the workings of various organisations, one or the other of which was sure to suit his or her special needs and opportunities. Cologne, then, marked, a new era in the history of the congresses. One advantage of the new arrangement was that they could now be held in any part of Germany; even in places where there did not happen to be a branch of the *Piusverein*. The increase in the numbers attending the Congress was very noticeable in the following year (Freiburg, 1859), the audience at some of the meetings numbering six thousand. Four committees were appointed to deal with the agenda relating respectively to Education and the Press, Catholic Missions, Christian Art and Charity.

The need of strengthening the Catholic Press was specially insisted upon in the Congress at Munich in 1861. It was there stated that the Catholic publishers of Germany and Austria numbered twenty-four, as against the 1,500 Protestant publishers. The Catholics had seven or eight large newspapers and about a score of small ones. The Protestants had between two and three thousand. The Catholic clergy numbered 60,000: yet the total number of subscribers to all the Catholic newspapers put

together did not reach even this figure. The lesson was taken to heart, as the subsequent development of the Catholic Press witnesses.

At the Congress at Aix in the following year the Catholic working man was specially prominent. During the fourteen years which had elapsed since the awakening of 1848, the Catholic workmen of the town had passed from a state of revolutionary chaos to one of admirable organisation. A procession of 2,000 men conducted the visitors from the Cathedral to the opening meeting, at which Moufang delivered an eloquent plea for Catholic participation in public life.

"No politics" had been hitherto one of the principles of the Congress. But while still refusing to associate itself with any one political party, the Congress now found it necessary to lay down certain general political principles to serve as guides for Catholics. They ran as follows:

1. The Catholic Church never asks anyone to join a particular political party. She acknowledges every form of government and every political system which is not in contradiction with the commandments of God and the principles of Justice.

2. The Catholic Church is no supporter of despotism and no enemy of political liberty and independence. She rejects Absolutism, whether of princes, parliaments or parties.

3. Catholics are not enemies of political progress. They accept all political reforms which make for prosperity of nations: but they reject conscientiously the violation of Justice and abhor revolution, whether it be based on universal suffrage, or the principle of

nationality, or the so-called principle of "accomplished facts."

On the basis of these principles, specific resolutions were drawn up at this and succeeding congresses, protesting against the spoliation of the Holy See, the oppression of Catholic subjects and similar acts of injustice.

At this same Congress endeavours were made to secure the foundation of a Catholic university in Germany. It was pointed out that although six among the twenty-two existing German universities were old Catholic foundations, yet these were completely in the hands of the State, with the result that Catholic influence in them was almost non-existent. Catholic professors were practically excluded from them, and students were brought up in an atmosphere of Atheism or religious indifference. The Congress took the matter up with enthusiasm, and generous subscriptions were promised. The Holy Father approved of the scheme, and appointed three German bishops to promote it.

That was nearly half a century ago, and the Catholics of Germany have not yet got their university. What is more, they do not seem nearly as anxious to get it as were their fathers at Aix in 1862. It would appear that the prevailing policy is rather in the direction of getting a foothold in existing institutions than of starting a distinct Catholic university. Permeation rather than isolation has become the ideal. Now it is true that something has been

done to organise Catholic undergraduates and to give them a position in German universities; and even Catholic professors are not everywhere excluded with the same pertinacity as they were fifty years ago. Yet it cannot be said that Catholics have so far succeeded in creating anything like a Catholic atmosphere in a single university of Germany. Whether the other policy could be made to succeed we cannot pretend to say.

It was pointed out in the previous article that the fifteenth Congress, that of Frankfort, was marked by the special prominence given to social questions, a prominence which they were never afterwards to lose. The urgency of these questions was emphasised by Father Thissen, the president of the local committee:

> We cannot close our eyes to the fact that there is around us a class of the population whose position deserves our sympathy in a special degree. I speak of the great body of artisans and workmen, who, at the present moment, are fighting a tough battle for existence, and who, in contrast with other classes of society, in the midst of a magnificent industrial progress, look forward to a hopeless future. Statistics reveal the fact that from 70 to 80 per cent. of the total population belongs to this class: and among them there are many who, after a life of hunger and misery, have no prospect save that of making their passage to eternity in the ward of a poor-house.

"Humanity" divorced from Christianity, the speaker continued, was bankrupt. People no longer saw the man in the workman; they treated him like a machine; indeed, worse

than a machine, for they flung him aside when he failed them, and wasted little thought on the possibility of repairs.

The impression created by this speech was deepened by an account then given by the eminent Swiss Capuchin, Father Theodosius, of certain social undertakings of his own. He had started four factories with much success, and was anxious to start a fifth, this time on co-operative lines. He had organised a whole district by a variety of means, which included Sisters of Mercy and Credit Banks. He urged his hearers to action. Mere speechmaking would carry them nowhere. Above all he was encouraging. "If a penniless beggar like myself," he said, "can help things along, those of you who are rich can do very much more."

A number of workmen representatives were present, and they put the question squarely—"What has Christianity to say to modern theories and aspirations of Labour?" Two days were devoted to a discussion of it, at the end of which time all saw the need of doing something, but were by no means clear as to what that something should be. The problem was too vast to be settled off hand. But a resolution was adopted calling upon Catholics to take the matter to heart, and to engage with earnestness in the study of social questions with a view of bringing to bear upon them the principles of Christianity. The recommendation was not lost sight of as we shall see.

The congresses about this period adopted the excellent custom of issuing each year a number of short and pithy resolutions, embodying some Catholic principle which needed to be specially emphasised at the time. These resolutions or professions of Catholic conviction, had the effect of creating a sound public opinion on questions of the day. They were taken up and repeated by the Press, they served as mottoes for Catholic speakers, and they were adopted as watchwords for the year by Catholic associations. Seven such resolutions were issued at Frankfort, dealing with the liberty of the Church, the Education question, and the like.

In 1867 the last meeting was held on Austrian soil. We observe a great development of interest in the Catholic Press. The number of newspapers alone had increased by fifteen in the last two years. The *Borromaeusverein*, a society for circulating Catholic literature, now counted eleven hundred branches and more than fifty thousand members. The "Frankfort Pamphlets," a series which dealt with current topics of all kinds, attracted 6,000 subscribers. It was now resolved to found a Catholic Press Association, and to establish Press bureaus in the chief European capitals.

At Bamberg in the following year an important change took place in the constitution of the congresses. A strong and permanent central committee, in addition to the local committee, was henceforth to deal with the work of

organisation, and to see that the resolutions passed at the congresses were carried out. This central committee was composed of men who were foremost in various departments of Catholic activity, and who knew exactly the needs of their time. Such a step had the effect of bringing the annual congresses more completely abreast of current questions. The arrangement worked well, and is still in force. But during the *Kulturkampf* and for some time afterwards a single Commissary General took the place of this committee—a change which was suggested by the difficulties of the time.

In 1869 a special section was appointed to deal with social questions; and while stress was laid upon the spiritual needs of the working classes, it was made perfectly clear that Catholics could not dispense themselves from a careful study of economic conditions with a view to relieving material needs also. Thus Ernst Lieber, subsequently the leader of the Centre Party and one of the most impressive speakers of the day, called upon the Congress to make its position in the matter clear to the world. The labour question, he said, was one with which Catholics had a special duty to concern themselves. For Christianity alone could point to a solution. The modern difficulties had been created by the capitalist rather than the workmen. The capitalist had become dehumanised because dechristianised. He had set Mammon in the place of God. If he could be brought back to

Christian principles the evangelisation of the workman would follow.

The congresses had now been doing their work for twenty years. Their organisation was complete, and their influence was beyond all calculation. They had united the Catholics of the empire, and given them an enthusiastic solidarity which was to serve them in good stead in the troubles to come.

We must not here describe the storm which broke over the Church in Germany after the Franco-Prussian war. The story of the *Kulturkampf* would take us beyond the limits of the present sketch. But we must note one point. The *Kulturkampf* did far more damage to the empire in the long run than it did to the Church. As has so often been the case, the real social and economic needs of the country were neglected in the effort to stamp out Catholicism. The result of hindering the spiritual influence of priests and nuns showed itself in an alarming increase of crime.

The congresses during the next few years were naturally taken up with the fight for essential religious liberties. The struggle was a political one and need not concern us here. That the Catholics secured ultimate victory in spite of the overwhelming forces arrayed against them was due in large measure to the manner in which these annual meetings brought the Catholic consciousness to a focus, and kept the Centre Party in touch with the people. We need

scarcely say that Ludwig Windthorst was from 1879 onwards the dominating figure at every Congress. He came to have the undisputed right of making the closing speech, summing up the work of each year, and sketching the plan of campaign for the future. His personal influence was enormous, for he was the best loved man in Germany. His name alone attracted visitors from all parts of the empire. And his activity was amazing. He flitted about from one departmental meeting to another, advising, directing, encouraging; and in the evenings, when social converse gave place to sociable, he was the life and soul of the festivities held by workmen or undergraduates. Among the latter he was the object of an enthusiastic hero worship. He himself kept the heart of an undergraduate to the end; and he knew how to encourage and direct the generous vigour of young men. His tact and judgment enabled him to smooth over any difficulties that might arise from their exuberant zeal; and the result was a great accession of strength to the Catholic body of Germany. The young men were initiated into public movements and encouraged to exercise their energies under wise guidance. They were saved from both of the extremes into which Catholic youth of other countries has too often been allowed to drift—a self-indulgent apathy on the one hand, and a misguided zeal on the other.

Even under the pressure of the *Kulturkampf*, Catholics persevered in their efforts towards a

sound social reform, thereby showing themselves better patriots than their persecutors. A commission consisting of Catholic employers and employees alike was appointed at the Congress of 1871 to inquire into the social and economic condition of the working classes, and to suggest legislation and other reforms. Members were exhorted to study social questions, and to elect as their civic representatives those whose knowledge and interest in the matter would enable them to advance the movement. The Catholic Press, too, developed to an amazing extent about this time. Before the *Kulturkampf*, there had been only four or five Catholic papers in Prussia. In 1873 there were a *hundred and twenty*, including many dailies. And although the persecution bore heavily upon Catholic enterprises, we note that the famous Görres Society was founded in 1876, and the *Augustinusverein* in 1878. The latter society was destined to play a great part in the development of the Catholic Press. The *Arbeiterwohl*, a society for promoting the interests of the working classes, was founded about the same time. It was soon joined by some hundreds of Catholic employers of labour, who set themselves to remedy social evils on Christian principles. They created a number of admirable organisations for working men, and the *Arbeiterwohl* is now one of the most important social institutions in Germany.

The Congress at Frankfort in 1882 devoted much attention to social problems. It was

proposed to form a committee, which should draw up on the spot specific proposals with regard to some of the more pressing questions such as the regulation of wages, usury and the like. But Moufang and Heinrich pointed out that a committee would not be likely within the space of three days to find solutions to problems of extraordinary complexity which had hitherto baffled all the experts in the country. It was therefore agreed to entrust Prince Löwenstein with the foundation of a committee which should work at its leisure upon the broadest possible basis of induction. This incident is worth bearing in mind. The German Catholics, despite their ardour for social reform, had come to realise that such reform is a matter which demands the utmost diligence, caution and concerted study. They were far from thinking that the possession of the Catholic faith or even of Holy Orders could take the place of expert knowledge. They did not stretch the *gratia status* so as to include divine guidance in economic questions.

But expert knowledge, as well as enthusiasm, was on the increase among the Catholics of Germany. The Centre Party was slowly and cautiously working its way towards a systematic programme of labour legislation, of which the main lines had been laid down by Ketteler twenty years earlier. There was no rushing in with wild palliatives of the kind with which we are so familiar : measures which give temporary relief to one class of Society at the expense of all

the rest. The Centre Party commanded the services of keen-sighted economists and expert parliamentarians who could be sure of themselves at every step. Prominent amongst them was Franz Hitze, a zealous young priest from Westphalia, who after studying at Würzburg University and Rome, had made his name famous throughout the country by his writings and his successful labours in the field of social reform. He entered the Prussian Landtag in 1882, and the Reichstag two years later, and is one of the most distinguished masters in social science now living.

Dr Hitze's speech at the Frankfort Congress lets us see something of the social consciousness to which the Catholics by that time had attained. He protests vigorously against the Manchester school of economics and the resulting slavery of the workman—a slavery which, he declared, implied less human relations between master and man than those which prevailed in ancient Roman or Feudal Europe. Modern industry had made of the workman a mere chattel. The speaker had no quarrel with machinery. It marked a step in advance. But a new social order must be devised to control it, or else it would become a weapon in the hands of the strong for the exploitation of the weak. He pointed out the miserable condition of the working classes, and emphasised the need for protective legislation. Measures must be taken against Sunday labour, promiscuity in factories,

the unrestricted labour of women and children, unlimited hours of labour, dangerous conditions of work, and so forth. Provision must be made for old-age pensions, workmen's insurance and profit-sharing. All these were national needs, and the Government had made a fatal mistake in persecuting the Catholics who represented the forces of construction. Catholics themselves must continue to fight for the independence of their Church, which was a condition of the nation's welfare. And they must throw themselves into social work with more ardour than ever, for if they could not re-establish Christian solidarity they would have revolution. Pagan Rome with all its greatness had vanished, because it could not solve the social question.

About this time we note a great increase in the numbers of those attending the congresses, which, moreover, took on a more representative character than ever. Thus practically all the Westphalian and Rhenish nobility attended the Congress at Münster in 1885. There they met nearly every Catholic politician of note; and nobles and politicians alike found themselves working side by side with representatives of every other class in the community. Many Catholic societies took occasion to hold their own annual meetings during the course of the Congress. Among them we may mention the *Arbeiterwohl*, the Society of St Vincent de Paul, the University Students' Union, and the Catholic Law Society. The last named association had recently been

formed with the object of counteracting the anti-Catholic tendencies of the legal teaching in the universities. Its members lectured to Catholic students, and put their professional knowledge at the service of the Catholic body.

In 1889 the Congress found itself at the industrial town of Bochum. Bochum is a wilderness of factories. It has no cathedral, no sights, no society, no traditions. It offers no attractions to the excursionist, but it made an excellent background for the discussion of the labour question. The local colour had been heightened by a recent strike from which the district had not yet recovered. But the inhabitants gave the Congress a cordial welcome. Windthorst was in his element, and addressed 7,000 workmen as "my honoured fellow-workers" —an appropriate greeting on the lips of the hardest-worked man in Germany. The *Arbeiterwohl* held its usual meeting and reported the foundation of about two hundred and fifty workmen's Associations.

And now all this Catholic effort towards social reform was at last to make an impression on the Government of the empire. Hitherto the Reichstag and the Bundesrath had given little encouragement to the social legislation proposed by the Centre and backed by the Congress. But in 1890 the Emperor took the matter up, and the politics of the empire were officially guided into the channels indicated by Ketteler a quarter of a century before. The Catholic battle-cry,

"Fight against Revolution by means of Reform on Christian principles" was adopted by the Government. The Catholic triumph was complete, and the Congress at Coblentz in 1890 sent its heartfelt vote of thanks to William II.

With the year 1890, therefore, we may bring this present paper to a close. The period which we have reviewed falls roughly into two halves. The first was occupied with the rousing of Catholic Germany from its torpor and the gradual organisation of its forces; the second was marked by a violent persecution which tested that organisation to the utmost. Catholic Associations had, of course, suffered considerably during the *Kulturkampf*. Their social activities had been crippled for the time being, and most of their energies had been spent in fighting for bare existence. But with the vindication of religious liberties came fresh efforts towards social service; and the Government's approval of those efforts in 1890 ushered in an extraordinarily fruitful era of Catholic social work. Of these more recent developments we have next to speak.

ESSAY III

THE ARMY IN ACTION.

It would seem that the best way of securing a man's interest in social service is to persuade him to do a piece of work, and to provide him with a mental background which may throw that work into relief.

Get him to act! It is not enough that he should listen. As long as he is merely passive he will not be really interested. He will not give his whole-hearted sympathy to those who are doing the work. Indeed, he will be much more likely to criticise them. He can realise neither the difficulties nor the importance of what is being done. But if he can be lured into taking an active part in it, however small, he will see it with new eyes. He will feel that it is part of himself, and that he is part of it. He will give a real and not a mere notional assent to the matter. Merely to present the background to him is almost useless. He may be perfectly familiar with the efforts of actual workers and with their organisation, and yet remain untouched. He may devour a wilderness of slum literature (statistics or novels according to

temperament) and have but a surface interest. Unless the will be roused, three-quarters of the man is left unmoved.

On the other hand, a background can scarcely be dispensed with. Men are seldom capable of solitary effort, or at least of long-sustained solitary effort. They need to feel the reinforcement of other wills, and to see their work as part of a larger whole. This is especially the case with social work, in which discouragements as well as mistakes abound. Of course a man's religion may be so vigorous as to sustain him through long stretches of seemingly unsuccessful effort. But quite apart from the need of guidance and comparison which even such a one must experience, we have to admit that religion does not always learn to express itself in social work at all; as, indeed, will appear from the dearth of social workers amongst ourselves. There are many excellent Catholics who do not see the bearing of such work upon their religion, and who do not realise that it is demanded of them nowadays in quite a special way, if they are to fulfil the Gospel precept of loving their neighbour. Such as these need a background: they need to be shown the wants of the world. and the concerted efforts of their fellow-Catholics to meet those wants. They require at least an initial introduction to a wider sphere of activity. As for the ordinary man, he needs continual reinforcement. Unless he is constantly brought into relation with an organised body of workers,

there is much danger of flagging. The steady and persistent pressure of personal wants and pleasures will almost inevitably narrow his horizon.

Hence if we are giving so much space to the consideration of the German Catholic Congresses, it is because these Congresses are far from being mere shows. They are a combination of background and activity; of pageant and individual effort. Practically every one who attends them belongs to some one or more of the multitudinous Catholic societies which cover Germany as with a net, and suffer no fish to escape. He will have the meetings of his own particular society to go to in the mornings, and at the general reunions in the afternoon he will feel something more than a mere spectator. He represents a guild of artisans or a students' union, or something of the kind, and his own special organisation in turn represents a wheel in the great machine of which he is now enabled to see all the parts.

The development of the social sense among the Catholics of Germany during the last twenty years will, therefore, be best gauged by continuing our study of the Congresses during that period. This done we shall describe the chief method by which the enthusiasm fostered at the Congresses is sustained during the year and directed into useful channels. In the fourth and final paper of this series we propose to summarise the results of our survey of Catholic social work in Germany, to note the points of

resemblance and contrast between the conditions of such work in Germany and in England, and finally to endeavour to ascertain the extent to which German methods might, with due qualifications, profitably be introduced amongst ourselves.

We may begin by giving some indication of the great increase during recent years in the numbers attending the Congresses. The question of providing accommodation has become a very serious one. At Treves in 1887 a special hall was built for the general meetings, and this precedent has frequently been followed since. At Munich in 1895 the only building capable of holding the visitors was the municipal beer store; this was converted into a public hall at a cost of some £2,000. At Dortmund in the following year the public meetings had to be divided into two sections. Yet Dortmund is mainly a Protestant town, and possessed at the time the largest hall in Germany. At Mannheim in 1902 the workmen's meetings were held in four halls simultaneously, one of which held 9,000 people. The *Festhalle*, specially built for the Cologne Jubilee Congress, was a really imposing building, holding ten thousand men. Nevertheless, seven other halls had to be found in order to accommodate the crowds attending the meetings after the workmen's procession. The elaborate hall which was specially built for the last Congress (1908) at Dusseldorf, eclipsed all its predecessors. It stood upon an

admirable site, lent for the purpose by the municipality, and cost considerably over £3,000 to erect.

To give some idea of the composition of the crowds attending the Congresses, we may divide them roughly into residents and visitors. The former will include the Catholics of the town where the meeting is held, and also those from the neighbourhood. Their number will, of course, vary from year to year, according as the Congress is held in a Catholic or a non-Catholic, a densely or a sparsely populated district. For we observe that the Central Committee does not always select for a place of meeting a town where Catholics are found in great numbers. On the contrary, it frequently sacrifices an opportunity of temporary triumph in favour of the general well-being; it looks rather to Catholic needs than to mere outward splendour. If the Catholics of a particular district need strengthening, the Congress will go there to strengthen them. This was the case, for example, at Neisse, in Silesia (1899), a town of but twenty-thousand inhabitants, where the elaborate setting which would have been supplied at Cologne or Munster was lacking. Local effort could do little. But local effort was very considerably stimulated and strengthened by having the Catholicism of all Germany concentrated within its borders for a week. Besides fortifying local Catholic institutions, and creating new ones, these Congresses are in themselves a valuable piece of Catholic

apologetic. A minority of Catholic workmen, disheartened by the sneers of their Socialist fellows, can hold up their heads again and glory in their birthright after their town has been visited by one of these great gatherings.

The visitors to the Congress include, as we have seen, men from every position in life. Clergy and laity, professions and trades, politics, art and literature—all are represented. Catholics from all parts of Europe and America are found there. At Mannheim it was calculated that ninety thousand visitors came into town on a single day.

We cannot fail to be struck by the increased prominence of working men at these gatherings during recent years. A procession and mass meeting of Catholic workmen now ushers in every Congress. At Neisse the procession numbered five thousand men; at Mannheim, twenty thousand, representing a hundred and seventy workmen's associations. At Cologne the "Black Parade," as it has come to be called, was particularly striking. The streets were decorated and spanned by triumphal arches, and Cardinal Fischer stood on the steps of the archiepiscopal palace and received the salutes of a seemingly endless line of men, representing three hundred and forty workmen's associations.

Nothing could exceed the skill with which these great crowds are organised. No other religious body or political organisation in Germany could attract and manage such en-

ormous numbers. Even the Social Democrats, with their vigorous propaganda and sensational methods, can show nothing similar. As a leading Liberal newspaper pointed out some time ago, the success of these Congresses springs from a solidarity between clergy and laity, only possible among Catholics.

Those who have had some experience of the difficulties of organising a Congress, as well as those who have suffered annoyance at the hitches from which so few congresses are entirely exempt, will appreciate the almost preternatural smoothness with which the German meetings run their course. Everything is foreseen and provided for. Accommodation and conveyance, postal arrangements and refreshments, hours of meeting and order of proceeding, all are carefully considered. We meet no irate reporters clamouring for information, no perplexed priests wondering where they shall say Mass on the morrow, no straggling companies of visitors appealing for guidance. There is nothing to divert the attention from the main business. One may surrender oneself to the prevailing enthusiasm without being irritated by the impossibility of finding a seat, or haunted by grim misgivings as to the possibility of getting anything to eat afterwards.

It may be well to glance at the machinery by means of which such admirable results have been secured.

It will be remembered that a Central Com-

mittee was instituted in 1868; but that during the *Kulturkampf* it was found advisable to entrust the whole work to a Commissary-General. This state of things lasted until 1898. For twenty-five years the organisation of the Congress was in the hands of that administrative genius, Prince Löwenstein. The post was one which suited him admirably, and to it he devoted all his amazing activity. He was a man who had his finger on the pulse of the nation, and could detect the slightest symptoms of coming trouble in any part of the country. In drawing up the *agenda* for the Congresses he showed an unerring instinct for strengthening the Catholic defences, just at the points where the next attack was to be delivered, and he was perpetually travelling about the country and seeing that the resolutions of previous Congresses were being carried out. As soon as one meeting was over, he was hard at work upon the details of the next.

In any case he would have been difficult to replace. But upon his resignation in 1898 it was felt that the reasons which had rendered advisable the concentration of authority in the hands of a single man had now ceased to exist, while, on the other hand, the increase of business was such as to make a return to the old arrangement absolutely necessary. The direction of the Congresses was, therefore, entrusted to a Central Committee of nineteen members, of whom fifteen were permanent, the other four consisting, at any moment, of the presidents of the last two

Congresses, and the president and vice-president of the Local Committee of the next Congress. The fifteen permanent members were chosen so as to represent the widest possible interests. They included the presidents of the chief Catholic associations, as well as leading representatives of mission work, labour, literature, and so forth. It will thus be seen that the Central Committee is enabled to give a thoroughly representative character to the Congresses, and to keep in view the interests of the whole of Catholic Germany. This accounts in great measure for the alertness and actuality which characterise these meetings. The members find themselves informed of the most pressing wants of the moment, and are enabled to anticipate the attacks of the various anti-Catholic forces arrayed against them. And besides being forearmed against danger, they are given a constructive programme which enables them to take the lead in all social enterprise.

Besides the General Committee, there is, of course, a Local Committee appointed for each Congress, upon which a great deal of work devolves. To it are attached various sub-committees which concern themselves with such matters as the speeches, the Press, attendance, accommodation, finance, building and decoration. There may be a dozen such sub-committees, each of them consisting of anything up to a hundred members.

When a Congress is actually in operation, the Central Committee and the Local Committee step

aside and entrust almost the whole conduct of affairs to the Managing Board, elected by the members of the Congress itself at their first meeting. The Central and Local Committees are represented on this Board. The Congress also appoints committees to deal with the following subjects:

1. The Liberty of the Church (the Pope and the Roman Question, Missions, Right of Association, etc.), and the organisation of the Congress.
2. Social Questions.
3. Christian Charity.
4. Christian Education (schools, art, the Press, etc.).

There are various types of meeting at these Congresses. In the first place we have the General Meetings—great demonstrations, stirring pageants, popular exhortations—to which all are admitted. At these meetings the speakers are appointed beforehand, and no general discussion is allowed. These meetings serve to impress upon the public mind the conclusions arrived at in the members' meetings. Secondly, there are the members' meeting themselves, at which motions are discussed and voted upon. Here the main business of the Congress is done. Admission to these is limited to life members of the Congress and to those who have taken a member's ticket for the year. Thirdly, the private committee meetings — gatherings of Catholic experts—where the material is prepared

for consideration at the members' meetings. Lastly, we have the numerous meetings of the various societies represented at the Congress. Care is, of course, taken that these meetings do not clash with the general meetings of the Congress itself. A dozen or more Catholic societies may hold their own annual meetings in various halls up and down the town in the course of a day, and then muster in force for the various Congress meetings.

The Congress usually lasts for five days (Sunday to Thursday), and opens with Solemn High Mass. The Blessed Virgin is Patroness of the gathering, and a solemn Requiem Mass for deceased members is sung on one of the days. The presidents open each meeting with the salutation "Praised be Jesus Christ," and at the end of the last meeting the *Te Deum* is sung in German by the whole gathering. Addresses of loyalty are sent to the Pope, the Emperor, and the Sovereign of the State in which the Congress happens to be held. Speeches may not be read, save for special reasons, and with leave of the President. They are limited to thirty minutes in the general meetings, and ten minutes in the members' meetings.

One of the most striking features of the Congress is the absence of hap-hazard speaking, and the well-calculated concentration of purpose. True, the field surveyed is a wide one: as wide as the Church itself; but a single tendency runs through all the speeches. The special

circumstances of the time are carefully considered by the Local Committee in conjunction with the Central Committee, who determine upon a dominant idea which shall make itself felt from first to last—a *Leitmotiv* which shall recur throughout. It then becomes the business of the Speech Sub-committee to select speakers and to suggest to them the several variations or applications of this central theme. To take an example. The *Leitmotiv* at Strasburg in 1905 was the text, "Stand fast in the Faith: do manfully and be strengthened" (I Cor., xvi., 13). This message was conveyed in speeches dealing with the following subjects:

The sources and blessings of religious life. The importance of the Papacy in religion and civilisation. Catholic Missions in the nineteenth century, and the duties of the Catholic body. The *Bonifaciusverein.* Popular education at the present time. True and false toleration. The fight against immorality. The co-operation of Catholics in social work. The participation of Catholics in art and learning. The co-operation of Church and State for the general well-being. The labour question at the present day. The advantages which the Congress offers to working men.

Or again, at Würzburg in 1907 the main theme was that of the co-operation of clergy and laity in public life within the limits approved by the Church. The opportuneness of such a message in Bavaria at the time will be evident to those who have followed recent events in that country.

Besides the wide publicity given to the proceedings of the Congresses by an army of reporters, representing every newspaper of standing, non-Catholic included, an illustrated volume of *Proceedings*, running to some six hundred pages, is issued every year, giving a full account of the preparations for the Congress, and all the meetings, including those of the various societies. No better guide can be found to the Catholic activity of Germany than the current *Verhandlungen*, which may be bought for a few shillings and is presented gratis to members.

The resolutions passed at each Congress represent the voice of enlightened public opinion in Catholic Germany, and give detailed direction, suited to place and time. They suggest fresh lines of development and fields for enterprise to the various existing societies, and urge the support of such societies in districts where they are specially needed. Perfect co-ordination and the maximum of efficiency are the natural results.

It must be remembered that these Congresses are presided over and chiefly managed by laymen, and that they deal with such difficult and delicate matters as the Roman Question, Socialism, parochial work, mission work, scientific research, and the like. Yet the loyalty of these great gatherings has always been as remarkable as their courage and plainness of speech; and the Bishops of Germany, after fifty years, can find nothing but praise for them. It is not long since their Lordships drew up a formal endorsement

of the tendencies and work of these meetings during the past half century. This solemn ratification by episcopal authority should be borne in mind. Lay activity in religious and social works has sometimes been checked amongst ourselves by over-timid apprehensions of friction with ecclesiastical superiors. But, given such loyalty as prevails at the German Congresses, we may safely emulate their freedom of speech and action.

Of the deep religious spirit pervading these Congresses there can be no mistake. They are interwoven with prayer and inspired by faith. Those who have had most to do in promoting them have been men of deep and tender piety. The Catholic spirit of Windthorst persists to-day. Prince Löwenstein, after a quarter of a century of devoted service to the Congresses, has given himself to God by a fuller dedication within the walls of a Dominican monastery. Were we allowed to speak of those who still direct the work we could give abundant evidence of the depths of spirituality, which gives such a marked character to their social effort.

Such, then, is the institution which more than any other has fostered and promoted a spirit of solidarity and loyalty among the Catholics of Germany, and has enabled them to use their power to the utmost in furthering the well-being of the Church and their country. Our object in this and the previous paper has been to show how this spirit has been fostered. And though we

have multiplied the details somewhat relentlessly, we trust that certain broad facts will stand out from our treatment.

It has been seen, then, that the German Catholics began the work of construction in the face of enormous difficulties. They suffered from persecution without and apathy within. Mountains of prejudice had to be removed. The work could only proceed slowly, and demanded as much tact as courage. But the pioneers were confident. They trusted the people, and knew that Catholic ideals, if once grasped, would afford sure guidance and bring order out of chaos. And so the meetings from the first were of a popular nature. An appeal was made to the spectacular instincts of the people. The leading Catholics of the country made sacrifices in order to be present. They "went to the people" and the people came to know them and to be familiar with their faces and voices. Friendly intercourse soon produced mutual respect and understanding. Moreover, party politics and local differences were laid aside together with exaggerated class-distinctions. A determined and persistent effort was made to effect solidarity. And solidarity came by degrees. A common platform was found at first in the defence of essential Catholic liberties. Then the platform widened, and was seen to be far more spacious and attractive than had been supposed. The Catholics of Germany came to see that their religion had many ramifications; that it was not a mere matter of Sunday

Mass and Friday abstinence, but a domain as wide as life itself. The fact once grasped, Catholic principles were applied to every department of human activity, and the one embarrassment of the Congress henceforth was the multiplicity of interests with which it found itself concerned. For, as we have pointed out, not only does the Congress review the work of existing Catholic institutions, but it creates such institutions according to the needs of time and place. In a word, the Catholics of Germany get together once a year, see what is wanted in the way of fresh organisation, and proceed to supply it without loss of time.

Important as were the annual Congresses, their appeal came only at intervals, and the enthusiasm which they evoked was likely to abate in the course of the twelve months which elapsed between them. An institution was wanted which should serve as a permanent Congress and should keep the Catholics of Germany in close and constant touch with social movements, stimulating and guiding them by an uninterrupted succession of meetings, lectures and visits, and by a continuous output of sound Catholic social literature. This want is in increasing measure being supplied by the *Volksverein* which may be described as the most successful association ever devised for the promotion of the social sense among a people. It plays an extraordinarily important part in the life of Catholic Germany, and must be described in some detail.

The *Volksverein* was Windthorst's legacy to Catholic Germany. Just a year before his death, when nearly eighty years of age, and in a precarious state of health, he threw himself with all the ardour of a young man into the work of launching the new association. He rose from his sick bed to help to draft its statutes, and, against the advice of his doctors, travelled from his home in Hanover to Cologne for its inaugural meeting on October 29, 1890. The words addressed to him on this occasion by his aged and heroic wife have often been quoted :

> As you live only for the great cause, we must be content if you do not return to us from this journey. We must leave all to God.

At the meeting itself Windthorst's spirit was indomitable. At nine o'clock in the evening, after a long day's discussion, someone asked him whether he would not retire and take some rest. "No," he replied, "I will stop, even if it should last the whole night." That night the *Volksverein* was founded and its statutes approved, Windthorst himself accepting the dignity of being the honorary president.

The new association grew rapidly. By 1892 it had a membership of 120,000, which in 1904 had grown to 400,000. By June, 1908, the members numbered 610,800. More than a third of these came from Rhineland, and about a fifth from Westphalia, but all parts of the Empire are represented. As membership is confined to adult men these numbers are all the more striking.

The *Volksverein* introduced itself to the Catholics of Germany in a famous manifesto, mainly drawn up by Windthorst himself, from which we may be allowed to quote a few words:

Grave errors and dangerous revolutionary tendencies are everywhere making their appearance: the very foundations of the existing order of public and private life are threatened. Let us therefore, go forth to meet the new foe in close array. Let us unite and form one great coalition which shall comprise all parts of the Fatherland. This union must see to organising our forces and increasing our means. It must systematically direct and increase our activity in the matter of literature, pamphlets and popular meetings. Thus our adversaries will find even the remotest village prepared for their advent; and errors will be at once confronted by the power of truth throughout the country. Every member ought, therefore, to work for the objects of the association, first in his private life, then in public by writings and speeches. And it must be remembered that the aim of the *Volksverein* is not only to protect from false doctrines, but to promote and to put in practice the right principles which underlie all social questions.

The object of the new association had been primarily the defence of Catholic social principles against the attacks of the Social Democrats. But, as in the case of the Congresses, so here, too, the original scope was gradually widened. Not content with protecting Catholics from socialistic propagandism the *Volksverein* started an active social propaganda of its own. It became a great continuation school for the

Catholics of Germany. It evolved a constructive programme and set itself to educate the people in Catholic social principles. It developed among them an interest in social reform, realising that such reform has to be worked out by the people themselves. It became, eventually, a highly specialised "social-sense organ."

By degrees it became apparent that the *Volksverein* must undertake an even more fundamental work. Not merely must it instruct its members in Catholic social principles, but it must give them a thorough grounding in the deeper religious principles which underlie the social teaching of the Church. Were this not done, their whole position might be turned by adversaries who denied the existence of God or the Divinity of Christ. To defend the superstructure of Catholic social theory it was necessary to defend the foundations of religious belief. Members must be able to justify their *Weltanschauung* if they were to get a hearing for their social programme. And so it was that the *Volksverein* took up the work of instructing the people in Christian apologetic and providing them with an abundance of cheap but excellent literature on the subject.

The organisation of the *Volksverein* is worth noting. A central Board of thirty-three members appoints a director for each state or diocese. Under this director is a manager for each town or group of villages; under the manager a promoter for every group (twenty to

fifty) of Catholic families. Directors, managers, promoters (these terms, though not the precise equivalent of the German titles, are sufficiently convenient) are brought into close relation with each other, and serve to link up every Catholic household with the Central Bureau at München-Gladbach.

The promoters, who now number about twenty thousand, are selected from all classes of the population. Though voluntary workers, they are trained men. Provision is made for their instruction in social and apologetic subjects. They meet together several times a year to discuss methods and hand in their reports to the managers. Each of them has his two or three streets to work up, his group of families to keep interested. He pays frequent visits to them, distributing literature, collecting the annual subscription of one shilling, beating up stragglers, supplying information. The printed form, the pamphlet, the Catholic newspaper are supplemented by the personal influence and the concrete appeal. These promoters are the nerves of the *Volksverein*, ramifying over the whole of Catholic Germany. The managers and directors serve as nerve centres—they influence wide tracts of the organism and correlate the action of their promoters. The brain of the whole association is at München-Gladbach, and is known as the Zentralstelle. We strongly recommend any of our readers who may be in its neighbourhood to pay it a visit. That its methods are so little

known amongst us must be a matter for regret. It is an institution of which Catholics may well be proud.

This Central Bureau employs a large staff of salaried officials who devote all their time to the work of the *Volksverein*. The Catholics of Germany have realised that such work cannot be done by professional and business men in their leisure moments, but demands the undivided attention of experts. The result is an efficiency which challenges the admiration of every specialist in social organisation. About sixteen of these officials constitute the literary staff. All of them are well versed in literature, or economics, or apologetics. All have degrees in political economy or theology. Priests are among them, but only on condition of their possessing the required qualifications. They are there not merely as clerics but as specialists. Besides the literary staff there are about fifty clerks, accountants, librarians, and so forth. The printing press employs another fifty. The whole field of work is carefully divided, exhaustive registers are kept, and the staff hold frequent consultations.

The Central Bureau is in constant and intimate communication with every director, manager, and promoter of the association. Literature is distributed on an enormous scale. Eight times a year a magazine called *Der Volksverein* is sent to every member. Social and apologetic articles are sent weekly to more than four hundred

Catholic newspapers, thus enabling even the smallest and remotest local journal to give its readers sound Catholic solutions to current problems. A series of pamphlets, entitled "Social questions of the Day," deals in a popular manner with questions of education, labour unions, accident and life insurance, tariff laws, social democracy and the like. Another series deals with apologetic questions. Yet another provides materials for lectures. Besides all this we find a monthly magazine for the study of social questions, and another monthly magazine for the direction of men's, women's, and young men's clubs, various publications for workmen, instructions for promoters and so forth. About fifteen million publications are issued in the course of each year.

It would be difficult to convey a just idea of the variety and excellence of this literature, of which a large quantity lies before us as we write. Particularly striking is its business-like directness of appeal. The writers know exactly what they want to say, and how they may say it most convincingly to the particular class of people which they are addressing. Here, for instance, is a tract for agricultural labourers. We find that it is written with an eye on their conditions and needs, and in a style which they can appreciate. It contains just the facts that will tell with agricultural labourers. It is written not by a condescending being who has never seen a plough in his life, and who from the seclusion

of his study favours the masses with advice which is alternately nebulous and impracticable, but by a close and sympathetic student of rural life, familiar not only with the general principles of sociology but with their application in detail. Here, again, is a newspaper for working men. It avoids sweeping generalisations, pious exaggerations, vague sentimentality. It is definite, practical, sensible. Above all, it leads. It is not afraid to face the questions which engross the workman. It gives clear direction, based upon understanding and sympathy. And so it finds readers. We might continue the list indefinitely and always with the same result. Everywhere we find the combination of expert knowledge and effective presentation. It may seem that we are laying a great deal of stress upon qualities which are essential to all apologetic literature which is to be of the smallest use to anyone. Our excuse must be that these qualities, however desirable, are, unfortunately, rare.

Besides publishing literature, the Central Bureau sends replies to the numerous questions which are sent in by members in all parts of the Empire and beyond it. The workman who (as frequently happens) gets into difficulties about his insurance, the priest or layman who wants to start a club, the member who wants materials for a lecture, the controversialist in difficulties, the student in distress—all find the Bureau of inestimable utility. They have only to drop a line and say what they want. If they can manage

a personal visit to München-Gladbach so much the better. They will find the place a perfect hive of social industry. Besides availing themselves of the expert information which is given so freely, they may consult the great library of books on social and apologetic subjects, or work in a reading room, or attend lectures in the great lecture hall. The place is a kind of perpetual congress, stimulating beyond belief, and organised to perfection. Those of us who have had to carry on social work, theoretical or practical, in comparative isolation will appreciate the bracing effects of even a few days spent at München-Gladbach. Here we are at the heart of things. Instead of being left to cut our own way through the tangled jungle of social theories, or to flounder unaided in a slough of economic literature, or to waste time and money in employing methods which have already been tested and found wanting, we find ourselves guided by ripe experience, introduced to the best literature, and put into communication with skilled workers in the same field as ourselves.

For the Central Bureau is in close touch with every sound social movement or organisation in the Empire, denominational or otherwise. It not only instructs its members in the latest achievements of social action, but sets itself to anticipate social problems and to be ready with its solution when the need shall arise. It is by no means content to let the Socialist take the lead in new enterprises. It does not defer action

until the secularist has got a ten years' start with a new method. "We do not wait to be pushed" as one of the staff observed. That the *Volksverein* should keep the lead in Germany in spite of the fierce competition of the Social Democrats indicates a mental alertness to which we cannot hope to attain in this country at present. It is the reward of half a century of strenuous social study and action. But at least we may have the broad-mindedness to adopt good methods, of whatever origin. Too often is our work disparaged by our co-religionists merely because we have not been the first in the field.

The work of capturing local public opinion in any particular district has been reduced to a fine art by the *Volksverein*. Indeed, such an operation presents little difficulty to an organisation at once so strong and so supple. We may imagine, for instance, that the Catholics of a particular village are in need of support. Information comes from the promoters of a neighbouring town that the Social Democrats are making a dead set at the village in question, and are carrying all before them, since the local Catholics are quite unprepared to meet such an attack. The Central Bureau is at once informed of the position of affairs. Lecturers are sent down, literature is circulated, and even pecuniary help offered if required. A nucleus of resident Catholics is formed by personal influence. A meeting is held with a view to introducing the *Volksverein* into the district. Membership forms are in readiness,

and speakers of note are imported to give attractiveness to the movement. By degrees a Catholic phalanx is formed which, since it is backed by the resources, material, intellectual and moral of the Central Bureau, will generally be able to hold its own against the forces which it has to meet.

This is but one example of the many ways in which the Central Bureau gives support to local effort. It has many other methods, from founding Catholic libraries and information bureaux to providing for the giving of missions to poor parishes. And if we have spoken of its opposition to Social Democracy we might also speak of its co-operation with many forms of undenominational social work. Indeed the extent to which it has gone in the latter direction has afforded matter for much controversy among the Catholics of Germany. That it should refuse to extend a similar toleration to the Social Democrats will surprise no one who is conversant with the aims and methods of that enterprising party.

One of the most remarkable achievements of the *Volksverein* has been its provision of systematic instruction in political economy, social science, and Catholic apologetics. Between 1892 and 1900 eight courses of practical lectures on social work, lasting from a week to a fortnight, were given in various districts. Since 1900 this movement has grown rapidly. Besides the special courses held in various districts according to local needs, various courses of holiday lectures

are now given annually in München-Gladbach by the leading Catholic authorities in the country. A large number of priests and educated laymen from all parts of the world attend the special courses there provided for them—three lectures a day for a fortnight, each lecture being followed by a discussion. Moreover, intelligent working men are given, also at the centre, a two months' course of sociology, which enables them to take a leading part in the social life of their district. Local clubs will often send one or two of the most promising among their young workmen members to take part in such a course. This training of leaders and orators among working men is a matter of the highest importance. We cannot hope to secure the allegiance of the working class to Catholic social reform unless we instil into influential members of that class an intelligent appreciation of such principles. The workman can only be reached by the workman. Labour will control its own course and will not accept a programme that it has not made its own. No amount of exhortation or denunciation from without can take the place of intelligent and loyal guidance from within.

The existence of the Congresses and of the *Volksverein* goes far to explain the satisfactory extent to which the German Catholics have cultivated what we have called the social sense. The former provide an annual review of the troops in which the units are made to feel their relation to the whole body. The latter keeps alive the

enthusiasm produced by the annual gatherings, and translates it into strenuous work during the rest of the year. It drills and drills persistently. The twenty thousand promoters are so many insistent drill-sergeants. The lecture courses train officers. The Central Bureau is the head-quarters of a general staff which represents the experience and intelligence of Catholic Germany. It is small wonder that popular interest is fostered and guided. And the need of fostering and guiding popular interest must be our excuse for having dwelt at such a length upon these two institutions. It is here that German example is most stimulating and helpful to ourselves. To find the workers and to give them a sense of the importance of the work is always the initial task. But mere random activity and undirected zeal will do more harm than good. We have not only to create the material but to organise it. The *Volksverein* has done both. We must bear in mind, too, that this great popular league does not promote the interest of any one class at the expense of the rest. We have spoken much of its interest in working men, but we might also have spoken of its successful endeavours to organise the commercial and professional classes. And as it works for all classes, so it encourages all healthy institutions. It does not drain away the resources of other societies, but increases them. It combines and co-ordinates rather than divides. It supplies help and information to every form of social effort. It does not absorb other organisa-

tions but promotes their growth. It makes the pace for growing concerns, and starts others on a career of usefulness. It prevents overlapping and friction. In a word, it introduces method. It aims at welding the whole Catholic body into a single social organism, alert and intelligent. Its activity extends far beyond the six hundred thousand men who constitute its members. It may be said that in one way or another its influence is felt all over Germany. True, it has not as yet secured the adhesion of all Catholics. Unlike the Congress it is not absolutely universal in its extent. But it is universal in its scope, and although there are important groups of Catholics who do not endorse all its tendencies and methods, yet it has worked out Catholic social principles into a practical system of instruction which is likely to hold the field and prove most effective in solving modern problems.

ESSAY IV

THE LESSON OF GERMAN TACTICS

If we are to carry out in this country the injunctions of the Holy See with regard to Catholic organisation and social work a twofold task is demanded of us. We have, in the first place, to convince Catholics of the vital importance of such work, to promote solidarity, to arouse enthusiasm, to create a Catholic social sense; and, in the second place, we have to devise such methods of social action as may meet our particular needs.

In each of these respects Germany has set us an example. We have already given some account both of the interest in social work and of the perfection of social methods which are to be found among German Catholics. We now propose to consider how far such a spirit and such methods might be introduced with profit amongst ourselves. In doing so we must, of course, bear in mind the very different conditions in which Catholics find themselves in the two countries. With regard to the spirit we may, indeed, borrow freely; but in copying foreign

methods we must make such adaptations as may suit our peculiar circumstances.

I

We began our account of Catholic Social Work in Germany by indicating the two dangers which threatened the Church and the nation during the lifetime of Wilhelm von Ketteler. The Church was oppressed by a hostile Government; Church and State alike were menaced by Socialism. Moreover we observed that what made the German position appear hopeless was the apathy of the wealthier Catholics and their disinclination to regain by social activity their influence among the working classes.

True, the Catholics numbered one-third of the population. But had they numbered two-thirds of the population their case would have been little better as long as this apathy continued. They allowed themselves to be bound hand and foot by their enemies: and their capture would have been just as easy had their numbers been indefinitely greater. On the other hand, a far smaller proportion of united and resolute men may, if they have a definite programme, impress it upon a whole nation. The lesson of Bishop Ketteler's life is valuable to ourselves precisely because he turned apathetic Catholics into enthusiasts; its value is not diminished by the fact that he did so on a very great scale. We have sketched his career at some length because it has a very distinct bearing upon our

opportunities in this country. For he taught (and Rome has accepted and endorsed his teaching) that the social question is one from which Bishops, priests and laymen cannot stand aloof. He taught that on Catholic principles alone can it be solved, and that the welfare of Church and State alike requires that Catholics in every condition of life should co-operate in the application of those principles. He secured the interest of his episcopal brethren and persuaded them to issue a vigorous joint pastoral insisting upon the need of social work on the part of clergy and laity. He led the priests of all Germany in a campaign of Catholic social reform; while to every class he pointed out methods of co-operation, whether by study or practical work. He did much to initiate sound methods; but his greatest achievement was that he overcame the great initial difficulty—want of interest.

Thus Bishop Ketteler's example is unspeakably encouraging to those of the Catholic clergy and laity in this country who are endeavouring to promote Catholic social action. For not only does he vindicate the need for such action but he lets us see how faith will move mountains of prejudice and how enthusiasm may thaw the icebergs of discouragement. He shows us that even in this commercial age men will still answer the summons to a Christian crusade, and that the apathy which prevails among so many Catholics is due to a temporary atrophy of the

imagination and to traditions of inaction rather than to any deep-rooted selfishness or sourness of mind. In a word, he quickens our faith both in human nature and in the vivifying and ennobling power of Catholic ideals. If we can but catch something of Ketteler's spirit we shall be more hopeful. We shall recognise that the material for effective Catholic social action is all about us. It exists first of all in our schools and colleges where, as Dr Poock has lately pointed out, so much more might be done to interest and instruct boys in the social and civic duties which await them. It exists among our educated laity who might, if convincingly appealed to, concert methods of employing their knowledge and experience in the service of the Catholic body. It exists among Catholic workmen; many of whom, if assisted in their clubs and improvement societies by their educated brethren, might fit themselves to become standard-bearers of Catholic social reform. And it exists in our ecclesiastical seminaries upon which Leo XIII urged the study of social questions with so much insistence. There are many amongst us who are standing idle merely because no enthusiastic organiser has come our way to set us doing a work well within our compass, and to paint us a picture of the world's spiritual and material wants which will keep us from flagging at our task.

II

The enthusiasm for Catholic social work created by Ketteler was, as we have seen, sustained by means of the annual Congresses. The scope of these remarkable meetings has already been sufficiently explained. But we may here consider one or two points which seem to be specially significant in view of our own needs.

In the first place the German Congress gave a practical and most satisfactory answer to certain extremists who had embarrassed its beginnings by endeavouring to impress their respective views upon the new institution. On the one hand there were those who advocated what may be called "the ring-fence policy"; that is to say, a complete withdrawal from national interests and popular movements, and an attempt to preserve the Catholic *pusillus grex* by shutting it up in a rigid enclosure. On the other hand there were those who, carried away by the whirl of secular currents, would have drifted out of touch with the principles of Catholicism. The former in their anxiety to preserve the faith untainted lost sight of their commission to teach the world. The latter in their zeal to permeate society forgot the need of reinforcing their own spiritual strength. They lost sight of the rock from which they were hewn. Both could appeal to tradition as to Scripture: but both were extremists whose policy would have been disastrous. The Congress taught a better way. Catholics learned

that they must fortify themselves and keep in touch with sources of strength. Then, and not till then, would they, in full security, push forward into alien country. Of course their policy met at first with criticism. On the one hand they were urged to fall back within their citadel and think only of saving the remnant; on the other hand they were advised to burn their boats behind them and to commit themselves to all the vicissitudes of the modern spirit. They disregarded their critics. They were determined to keep their Catholic spirit untainted, and yet to permeate modern thought. They elected to organise rather than to isolate themselves. They would neither skulk nor compromise; but they would create a base of operations and make secure their lines of communication. And their method has justified itself.

The second point which we have to notice about the German Congress is that having vindicated the policy just stated it proceeded to carry it into effect by means of certain practical measures.

(i) It assembled the Catholic body together once a year on a common Catholic platform where class prejudices were laid aside. This great gathering became an event of national importance and enabled the Catholics to realise their strength and increase their solidarity.

(ii) It attracted to its gatherings representatives of the various Catholic social and charitable societies and enabled them to co-

ordinate their efforts and appeal to a wider public.

(iii) It assisted in the foundation of new societies wherever they were seen to be necessary.

What, then, is the lesson of the German Congress for the Catholics in this country? As regards the first of the points above mentioned, we may assume that the general policy of the Congress is one which we may safely imitate. We cannot stand aloof from secular movements, neither may we wholly surrender ourselves to them. We must, by common study, bring them to the test of Catholic principles, and we must, by common action, bend them to the great issues of which the world is losing sight.

As regards the second point, we too must endeavour to secure the three practical advantages which, as has just been stated, are provided by the German Congress. We must create a Catholic platform and rally our forces upon it; we must enable our existing institutions to extend their activities, and we must facilitate the creation of new organisations to meet specific needs.

A little reflection will show how far we are at present from having secured these three results. We may take them in order.

(i) It is clear that Catholics in England have by no means attained to what may be called social solidarity. In purely religious matters we are, of course, splendidly at one; and a religious demonstration such as the Eucharistic Congress

serves to bring out the loyal devotion to Catholic dogma which is our strength. In questions obviously affecting religious interests (such as the education question) we can make an effective display of strength. On the other hand, we are, and must expect to remain, politically divided. Hence in purely political as in purely religious matters we may be said to have attained finality. In the former case we are permanently severed from each other; in the latter we are, happily, in complete accord. It is in social matters (using the word social in its widest sense) that improved solidarity is both possible and desirable. At present we are apt to confuse them with politics and to assume that no union is here practicable. We have to learn that they are often much more religious than political and that in our attitude to them we should be united as in our religion, and not, as in our politics, divided. Catholics, while retaining their cherished political convictions, may well unite on a common social platform—a Catholic platform.

Let it not be said that the exclusion of party politics would leave the occupants of such a platform little to talk about and less to do. A glance at the German Congresses will show us the absurdity of such an objection. Those who raise it can have little idea of the fertility of Catholic principles and of the multitudinous bearings of our religion on social life.

Is it possible to organise in this country a really representative Congress of Catholics?

Can we hope to institute a "Catholic week" which shall bring all our forces together for consultation and mutual encouragement? It may be questioned whether we should be wise in attempting to work up such an annual demonstration *ab initio*. We need to unite rather than to multiply: to develop existing resources rather than to start afresh. It will be well, therefore, to consider whether there is not in existence a Catholic Conference which by increased support might come to take in this country the part played by the German Congress.

Now we already possess in our annual Conferences organised by the Catholic Truth Society, meetings which have in fact reproduced some of the most striking and valuable features of the German Congress. These Conferences are already notable manifestations of Catholic unity. They are general in their scope and they attract fairly large crowds. It should, we think, be possible to extend their popularity and representative character, and such an extension would no doubt be welcomed by those who have organised them with so much zeal and success.

We have often been struck at these Conferences by the conspicuous absence of those whom we might reasonably expect to find there. True, their Lordships the Bishops set an admirable example and commonly muster in force upon the platform: an example which is followed by a certain number of our devoted clergy and lay workers. But where are our Catholic nobility

and county families? Where are the Catholic politicians and leading professional men? Where are our prominent merchants and business men? Where are our University students? And, finally, where are the representatives of our Catholic working men? Were more members of all these classes to make some effort to attend, the effect of these Conferences would be very far-reaching. Those who took part in them would develop what may be called a Catholic social sense and would constitute a gathering of immense prestige and influence in the country.

To induce a larger and more representative attendance at these Conferences would be to render a signal service to the Catholic cause in England. In the first place, it would tend to strengthen a unity which may in the future be very seriously threatened by the social fermentation from which we cannot escape, and to which it would be foolish to shut our eyes. It has been the salvation of Catholic Germany that the influential classes were induced a generation ago to work for social reform as well as for the defence of religious liberty side by side with the members of the growing democracy. The present plight of the Church of France is in large measure due to the fact that the possessors of hereditary privilege have not "gone to the people." Comte de Mun in his recent book, *La Conquête du Peuple*, has put the contrast between France and Germany in this matter in the clearest light. We are unhappily aware of

Catholic social movements in France which, though full of splendid promise in the beginning, cause dissension rather than unity in the Catholic body to-day. We cannot put the entire blame on the ardent young Republicans who chafe under authority and incur episcopal disapprobation. We have to recognise that the apathy of so many wealthy and leisured Catholics has produced its almost inevitable reaction. For even the soundest efforts at Catholic social action in France are often crippled by the abstention of those who should be taking the lead in them. Comte de Mun speaks of the Catholic congresses and conferences in France of which so much might be made :

> Les représentants des classes les plus riches de la nation y paraissent rarement ; ce sont des prêtres et des travailleurs, des avocats, des commerçants, des employés, des petits et des humbles qui forment l'auditoire, qui viennent, à la modeste tribune, exposer simplement ce qu'ils ont fait, souvent sans se douter qu'ils offrent l'exemple d'un dévouement presque héroïque.
>
> Comment ceux qui s'exilent ainsi de toute la vie chrétienne pourraient-ils garder leur influence ? Comment, dans le mouvement qui passe devant eux, sans qu'ils veuillent s'y mêler, pourraient-ils discerner autre chose qu'un tumulte qui les effraye, et comment s'étonner que, les voyant inactifs, beaucoup les croient désormais inutiles ?

At the annual Conferences of the Catholic Truth Society, our Catholic laity of position and influence might gain valuable insight into the new forces that are awakening in the country,

and might be encouraged to take their part in a movement from which, if the spirit of Catholicism be not absent from it, we have nothing to fear. And the same might be said of the young men who go out from our colleges and schools each year by the hundred to fashion for themselves a career in life; or who, at the Universities, are acquiring that knowledge which would stand them in such good stead in social work. Is it not eminently desirable that these young men, impressionable and generous as they mostly are, should be brought into touch with those who in many fields are fighting the battle of the Church? If we can but secure their interest, we may have confidence in the coming generation of Catholic laymen in this country.

(ii) The second result of a general Catholic Congress would be to bring our existing institutions to the notice of the whole Catholic body and to enable them to secure fresh recruits. Too many Catholics of means and position are out of work—social work. Yet though unemployed they are by no means unemployable, and by attending such a Congress they would be confronted with various forms of Catholic enterprise, one or the other of which would be very likely to arouse their interest and enlist their personal sympathy. At present they seem quite unaware of the very existence of works in which they might co-operate with pleasure and profit. The Catholic Truth Society has indeed

published an excellent *Handbook of Catholic Charitable and Social Work* which might have enlightened many; but we learn that it has had little sale. It has had little sale because we Catholics in this country are somewhat wanting in sense—social sense. We have not felt the need of such a reference book. The revised edition lately published will take an honoured place on our shelves beside Bradshaw and the Postal Directory when we have caught the spirit of the German Congresses and embodied that spirit in a great annual gathering of our own.

For, as we have already pointed out, the German Congress impresses on all who attend it (and it is almost true to say that every one attends it) the need of helping in one way or another the Catholic cause. Each organ of Catholic activity is exhibited in turn and its functions explained. Every one is made to understand what exactly is being done, why it should be done, and how he may help it to be done better. Had we a similar Congress we could make a similar appeal. Our Foreign Missions, for example—how few of us know anything about them or realise their bearing on our own spiritual welfare as a community. Some amongst us may even question the advisability of attempting to convert the remote savage before we have Christianised the proximate slum. Cardinal Vaughan had a deeper and more Catholic insight into the matter when he

pointed out that our success with our slums may depend upon our generosity on the foreign mission field. Until we have paid our toll there, it may be that our work here will remain crippled. A Congress might drive the matter home to our people and remind us where our real strength lies. We are apt to dismiss such considerations on the ground that they are not practical. But the practical Germans in their business-like annual Congress, which aims primarily at Catholic defence, always give this matter of foreign missions their very serious consideration.

Or again, take the case of the Catholic Young Men's Society, which is doing such splendid work in Liverpool and elsewhere, but is entirely unknown in many parts of the country. A General Congress would bring its representatives into touch with clergy and laity from every district, and would doubtless lead to the creation of many new branches. The same may be said of the Society of St Vincent de Paul, the Prisoners' Aid Society, the Catholic Women's League, the Catholic Association, the Catholic Reading Guild, Catholic Temperance societies, and so forth, to say nothing of our various charitable organisations. All would be likely to break new ground as the result of a general Congress. And a special impetus would certainly be given to that most valuable institution the Catholic Federation.

All must be aware of the very significant

movement which has recently taken place amongst us in the direction of confederating our Catholic societies. The movement began with diocesan Federations, and the Bishop of Salford set an example which was followed in the dioceses of Westminster and Leeds as well as by some smaller areas. The Catholics of England gratefully recognise the invaluable services rendered by these Federations during the recent education crisis, and they may be said to mark a new stage in the history of Catholic organisation in this country.

And now another step has been taken and representatives of the three above-named Federations and of similar bodies, including the Catholic Young Men's Societies, have recently (February 13) met in London with a view to organising a general Confederation of Catholic societies in England and Wales. At the time of writing these lines we cannot yet say what reception will be accorded to this proposal by the Catholic public. But we have no hesitation in declaring that the movement, though doubtless full of difficulties, is beyond doubt full of promise and deserves the heartiest encouragement. The development of the new Confederation must be left to time. In such matters it is unwise to impose cast-iron rules or draw up a detailed programme which may hamper natural growth. Something must be left to increasing vitality and changing environment. Yet we may

venture to express the hope that the new Confederation will not confine its operation to meeting specific attacks on Catholic liberties. We trust that besides helping us to meet such definite emergencies as education bills it will engage in permanent work of an educative kind. Indeed, only by doing such work in time of peace can it ensure its efficiency in time of war. There is no reason why it should ever be aggressive; but there is every reason why it should be perpetually active. We should like to see it constantly stimulating local effort and promoting local organisation, training speakers and writers, encouraging debates and lectures.[1] We should like to see it not merely transacting necessary business in occasional meetings of a few delegates, but exhibiting itself to the Catholic public as a symbol of our social unity and a guarantee that our strength is not being frittered away by overlapping and friction. In other words the Confederation should have an opportunity of coming into contact from time to time with the Catholic people. Whether it could, especially in its early days, attract a really imposing Congress of its own is perhaps somewhat doubtful. Anything short of a really imposing Congress would, considering the importance of the Confederation, be simply not worth holding. Hence

[1] This suggestion may now be offered with more confidence. Since writing the above we have read the Archbishop of Westminister's speech at Hull (February 14), in which His Grace recommends the Federation to train Catholic publicists by means of lectures and debates.

we venture to offer the suggestion that it should avail itself of the opportunity which the Catholic Truth Society, as the result of twenty-five years of activity and experience, is able to provide.

For, as we have already pointed out, the Conferences organised by this Society approximate more nearly than those of any other Catholic gathering to the German Congresses. Their scope is wide, and they attract large numbers. As one of the Society's secretaries has pointed out, "representatives of every Catholic body are welcomed at the Conferences, and the subjects discussed are of common interest." Hence, it should not, we think, be difficult to arrange that many of our various Catholic societies should hold their annual meeting (or at least *an* annual meeting) in connection with that organised by the Catholic Truth Society. There need be no clashing, and no interference with the specific work either of the Catholic Truth Society or of the other Societies. The various associations could transact their business in different halls, and all could assemble for the general meetings. This has already been arranged in some cases; the Catholic Guardians and the Catholic Women's League have amongst others availed themselves of the opportunity.[1] The advantages of such an arrangement are obvious.

[1] We may add that all praise is due to the Catholic Association for its activity in urging its members to attend these Conferences. Such a tendency towards solidarity should be most warmly encouraged.

The various societies are able to make their work known to a wider public, and the general meetings gain in numbers and representative character.

By taking their place in the Conferences thus extended the new Catholic Confederation would be brought into contact with the whole Catholic body, and would be saved from any danger of becoming academic. A great public gathering and enthusiastic crowds are no substitute for business meetings and the deliberations of the expert few ; but they are a very useful supplement thereto. Delicate questions as to minor matters of control may of course arise in the case of a Congress which embraces several autonomous bodies. But these questions, we think, admit of solution, and the organisation of the German Congress will supply useful suggestions. We have already explained how these great representative gatherings grew out of the annual meetings of a single society, and how the autonomy of the various societies is completely preserved.

At such an assembly it would, moreover, be possible to embody the collective experience and deliberation of the Catholic body in a series of resolutions forming a practical programme of social action for the year. Such constructive suggestion and direction would, as the example of Germany again shows us, do more to check the ravages of Socialism than a wilderness of destructive criticism, and it would let our country-

men see that we have the welfare of the nation at heart. A strongly worded and strongly backed protest against the sweating-system, for instance, together with wise and detailed direction how to help towards its abolition, would not only be in accordance with the spirit and traditions of the Church, but would impress upon the nation the fact that Catholicism is, in a special degree, the religion of the people. Of the extent to which, in such social action, Catholics might co-operate with non-Catholic bodies we shall have something to say presently. Our point here is that they also need to take corporate action of their own.

(iii) The third function of our general Congress would be to survey the whole field of Catholic social effort and to assist in creating new organisations to supply definite needs as they arose. At present our attempts in this direction are spasmodic and belated. We are constantly meeting in the Catholic press with suggestions for the founding of Catholic societies of various kinds. The suggestions are often admirable; but nobody moves. The men who might make a start are not brought together. We recognize with gratitude that the Catholic Truth Society has been the occasion of starting a certain number of excellent organisations which were badly needed and are now doing good work. This fact seems to indicate that were these Conferences to obtain more general support they would be able to make provision for general

and special Catholic needs with even more promptitude. We have already noted how successfully the German Congresses fulfil this task. Every one is on the spot. The man with an idea at once finds a dozen kindred spirits. They discuss details, secure approbation and co-operation as far as is necessary, and in due time bring the new work forward into public notice.

That there is need amongst us for certain specific Catholic societies or developments of existing societies would seem to be beyond question. We have already had occasion to mention some of the various organisations which took their rise more or less directly from the German Congresses; and a detailed examination of them might suggest the reflection that many of them are supplying needs which exist in this country also, but for which we have not as yet set about to seek a remedy. A few instances may illustrate our meaning. Though given in all diffidence, they may serve to indicate how the collective experience and enterprise of a Congress might from a study of existing German institutions, derive some useful hints for improved organisation among ourselves.

Let us take first the important matter of the Catholic press. We learn from the latest edition of Keiter's *Handbuch der katholischen Presse* that in 1908 the Germans possessed no less than 500 Catholic newspapers and periodicals, including

255 dailies. The total number of subscribers is put at 6,687,530. It is astonishing to learn that the number has more than doubled in the last eight years. Such results have only been secured by careful organisation and unceasing effort. They are largely due to the exertions of various Catholic societies. Take, for instance, the *Augustinusverein*, which has done such excellent work during the last thirty years in the matter of improving Catholic newspapers. Nearly a thousand journalists are members of it to-day. They have their employment bureau, their literary agency and their pension fund. By concerted action they are able both to swell their own ranks by offering a career to promising young Catholics, and to increase the demand for their work by raising the standard of the Catholic press.

As far as the dissemination of Catholic newspapers is concerned we already possess in this country an excellent institution (The Catholic Reading Guild) which, though it has by no means secured the support that it deserves, is doing good work. But would it not be possible to form a society which should bring our journalists and authors into touch with one another? Though numerous and influential, they are far too scattered to exercise the corporate influence wielded by the *Augustinusverein*. A society such as we suggest might be able to give immense weight to the Catholic cause, and would in turn confer a considerable benefit upon its

members by giving them opportunities of closer acquaintance with the great Catholic sources of literature. The man who can interpret the Catholic Church to his time is sure of a hearing. We believe that in England the number of those who would listen to him is daily increasing. A society which could supply the Catholic writer with accurate information concerning Catholic movements in all parts of the world and bring him into touch with Catholic experts in all branches of learning might give him an assured standing and a fruitful source of inspiration.

Again, we are by no means alive to the need of establishing Catholic libraries and circulating Catholic books. The Catholic Truth Society provides much excellent literature and the same may be said of various well-known publishers. But what effort do we make to distribute it? Even in proportion to our numbers we are sadly behind the German Catholics in this matter. The *Borromaeusverein* alone has a membership of over a quarter of a million and nearly three thousand branch associations. It has spent over a million sterling on Catholic libraries (of which it has founded three thousand) and has done an immense amount to popularise Catholic literature.

For an admirable model of organisation in another department of Catholic life we may take the German *Görresgesellschaft*, which, as Bishop Brück points out, owes much of its success to

the publicity which has been given it by the Congresses. This society was founded in 1876 in order to foster learning in all its branches. It consists of five sections, which deal respectively with Philosophy, History, Law and Sociology, Science and Ancient Literature. Many of our readers will be familiar with the invaluable *Staatslexikon* in five volumes of which a third edition is now appearing. Its *Historical Year-book* is now in its twenty-eighth year. The *Philosophical Year-book* (edited by the distinguished Dr Gutberlet) has been running for nearly as long. Besides these the *Görresgesellschaft* has published many volumes of historical and scientific research. Its president is a layman, but among its four thousand members are a great number of the clergy. It maintains a research school in Rome and proposes to establish an institute of oriental studies in Jerusalem.

Such a record should stimulate the Catholics of this country to occupy fields which, in the past, owing to more pressing demands, they have been compelled to leave almost untouched. We suggest that something might be done amongst us to co-ordinate the work of our Catholic scientists and determine more accurately the relations between the results of scientific research on the one hand and the traditional theology and philosophy of the Catholic Church on the other. Such an undertaking would carry into effect an earnest wish expressed by Cardinal Newman not long before his death. Our ecclesiastical students

as well as our laymen are taking to scientific study and research in increasing numbers, as a glance at the lists of University degrees in science will show. We know of one seminary where valuable experiments in Mendelism are being carried out under expert guidance. Surely it would be well to strengthen our defences by facilitating intercourse between the theologian and the scientist.

Similarly our isolated students of economics and social science might profitably organise research in common and thus enable us to hold our own with more credit in a branch of study which is now of pressing importance. Priests upon the mission find themselves called upon to express their views upon subjects involving some knowledge of sociology, and it would be a great boon could they get into touch with a Catholic body of serious students including clergy and laity. We might hope, too, that such a society would make some addition to our library of Catholic social literature, and would, by lectures and advice, stimulate social study in Catholic clubs, debating societies and the like. But to this matter we shall return presently.

In like manner immense advantage might accrue to the Church and the country were Catholic employers and others in control of labour to associate themselves into a society for putting into practice the social teaching of Leo XIII. Without any very heroic sacrifice on their part they might easily concert methods of

restoring something of the old personal relation which used to exist between master and man in Catholic times. There are a sufficient number of Catholics in responsible positions with regard to labour to constitute a society which might give an impressive lesson to the whole country. Many of them are as individuals already displaying that personal concern for the spiritual and material well-being of employees which the Church would have them cultivate. Had we a Catholic Social Welfare League, those who from want of imagination or from selfishness are lacking in this respect would be, at least to some extent, brought into line—the former by enlightenment, the latter by the pressure of public opinion.

The model for such an organisation exists in a German association with a long name, more compendiously designated by its former title of *Arbeiterwohl*, which was founded in 1880 by a priest and a Catholic manufacturer. It is stimulating to think of its 1800 Catholic capitalists and employers of labour banded together in a generous crusade of social reform. These men have come to regard the workman not as a tool but as a member of society. They have learnt the lesson of social responsibility and they teach it to those whose labour they employ. Were their example more generally followed the social question would solve itself. For we see here not the mere raising of the worker's standard of comfort (which may lead merely to insatiable

clamour for more and a pushing of the whole economic machine out of gear) but the creating of a social bond in place of a chafing "cash nexus."

Might it not be well, too, to consider the advisability of forming associations for Catholics in certain of the professions? Is there not room, for instance, for a Catholic Medical Guild which might put our doctors in touch with one another? In this case we need not go abroad for our example. The doctors of the Church of England have their Guild of St Luke and attend service in St Paul's Cathedral on the feast of that saint. Were a similar guild started amongst us it might include not only doctors but medical students, for whom it might establish a Catholic social centre in various Universities where they are sufficiently numerous. As the existence of the Protestant guild shows, there can be no professional objection to such a society which, we think, might do much to keep our medical men in sympathetic contact with the movements of the Catholic world.

And finally, passing from social organisation to charitable endeavour, a really representative Congress would be sure to discover certain districts of the country and classes of the population which clamour for special assistance of one kind or another from the Catholic body. And be it noted that the assistance required will often be that of personal service rather than money. This is just the point which is so often missed by

those good people who imagine that their social duties begin and end with the drawing of a cheque. A little united investigation will reveal abundant opportunities of rendering such personal service with the happiest results. Just as the spiritual needs of the Catholic hop-pickers have attracted attention, and are now being supplied with so much devotion by the Franciscan Fathers and their lay associates, so there are no doubt whole sections of the population in sore need of organised assistance, spiritual and temporal, which a little thought would show us how to supply. The matter need not be illustrated further, since our whole contention is that methods require to be thought out by a representative body of Catholics, and that the suggestions of isolated individuals, even if practical, seldom result in action being taken. But we must recall the lively interest taken by the German Congresses in the spiritual and temporal welfare of the *Diaspora*—those districts where Catholics live in a small and scattered minority. We, too, have our *Diaspora*. A pessimist might say that we consist of nothing else. This is not so. In many large towns our strength is considerable. But it is true to say that in numerous districts of England, the Catholic faith will not develop, and may even lose ground unless the Catholic body as a whole comes to its relief.

Such, then, are the advantages which would spring from a thoroughly representative Congress, supported by our federations, our societies and

our people. It would intensify Catholic consciousness, which consciousness in turn would devise methods for improving our existing charitable and social works, and adopting new ones. The Eucharistic Congress, no doubt, brought home to many the effects of a great Catholic gathering. Those who attended it must have been impressed with a sense of the reinforced strength which comes from the sight of a great body of men, united not merely by philanthropic or imperial sentiments and aims, but by the deepest religious conviction. After all, there is no gathering in the world like a Catholic gathering. No external impressiveness or political enthusiasm can produce the effects which flow so naturally from a consciousness of fellowship in the Communion of Saints. The closest intimacy is only secured where there is agreement on the deepest things of life. The whole man is stirred by a gathering where all are one concerning the truths of religion. To those who agree with us in matters merely sanitary or scientific, or even philanthropic, we can give but a part of ourselves. And the Eucharistic Congress should have this among its other good effects—to urge us to foregather annually at a Congress which shall represent all the forces of Catholicism in the country, and shall stimulate those forces to more united and more efficient action.

III

If we had our Congress we should doubtless before long also have our *Volksverein*. Many of the features of this remarkable popular league might be reproduced amongst us. The system of promoters who beat up a given district is already in existence in some places for such purposes as sodality work, canvassing and the collection of Church funds. It might be extended to popular social education. We believe that it is a method which is becoming less difficult in England every year. The reaction against the old Poor Law should make it easier for us to organise an army of Catholic visitors, who, by distributing literature, giving advice, arousing interest, securing attendance at meetings and promoting organisation, should create a widespread interest in Catholic social ideas.

It is pleasant to dream of a great central office in London, with its branches in the provinces, and its staff of trained writers, lecturers and organisers, which should be a hive of Catholic social industry; a centre where well-equipped priests and laymen might work out the principles of Leo XIII into a practical programme of social action. We see them sending a lecturer here, helping to start a workmen's club there, driving home Catholic literature everywhere. We see them discreetly co-operating with non-Catholic institutions, and giving advice to local workers

as to how far such co-operation on their part is desirable. We see them supplying expert members for Commissions, speakers for local conferences, candidates for municipal elections. And we see them instituting systematic courses of lectures for Catholic workmen, and founding scholarships for the study of economics and sociology. Thus far the dream. Is it quite beyond the possibility of realisation? We believe that it is not. Here is scope for the Catholic Federation.

But we need not wait for the creation of a central bureau in order to begin so useful a work. Social instruction in the form of lectures, debates and classes, might be introduced into existing Catholic clubs or started by local initiative. Indeed, some excellent work is already being done in this direction. We may instance the newly founded "Catholic School of Social Science" at St Bede's College, Manchester, of which the Bishop of Salford is President. Five courses of lectures have already been given, dealing with such subjects as Economic History, the State, Social Duties, and Private Property. A question box is placed in the lecture room, and students may have their knowledge tested by examinations, for success in which certificates and prizes are offered. We may mention, too, the lectures organised by the Catholic Women's League and the classes for instruction in Sociology and other subjects lately started in Preston.

IV

By way of appendix to this paper we must be allowed to meet an objection which has possibly been shaping itself in the minds of some of our readers from the beginning, and which, if admitted, would invalidate our whole position. What is the use, it may be asked, of our attempting to imitate in this country the social institutions which have been erected by the Catholics of Germany? They number more than one third of the population. We are perhaps one in seventeen. Is it likely that we can, with our small numbers and our poverty, organise institutions which will not only suffice for our own needs, but leave their mark on the country? By all means let us interest our own people in social and charitable work. But let them do that work in conjunction with larger and wealthier non-Catholic bodies. We cannot form societies among ourselves to advance art and literature, to provide technical education, to promote professional studies, to safeguard the interests of particular classes of society. We are not in sight of a Catholic Trade Union. But we may well join and do good work in literary and scientific societies, professional associations and Trade Unions. Again, we cannot as a body do anything to check the sweating evil, to secure improved housing for the poor, to start labour colonies and found garden cities, to solve the unemployment

question, to put down drunkenness. But we can as individuals join associations which already exist to secure these ends. Once more, we cannot make adequate provision for boys' clubs and gymnasia, technical institutes and night schools, country holidays for children and the like. But we can combine with non-Catholics who are able to organise all these things on a great scale. Is it not positively unwise to attempt to be self-sufficient? Would not such an attempt merely cut us off from our due social environment in the one case, and, in the other, keep our Catholic poor out of benefits which they might so easily secure? There is plenty of non-sectarian machinery to hand. Why cripple ourselves by endeavouring to erect more of our own?

This, somewhat baldly stated, is the objection which we have to meet. As we put it, it represents an extreme view. There are many who, while advocating a very considerable measure of co-operation with non-Catholics and deprecating the erection of all the Catholic machinery which we have suggested, would yet allow that some further Catholic organisation is necessary. Moreover, we ourselves do not hesitate to recommend a somewhat extensive co-operation with non-Catholic institutions under conditions which will be indicated in a moment.

But first of all let us meet the initial objection that we are too few and too poor to erect independent organisations of the kind described.

It may be answered that our numbers though relatively small are absolutely very considerable, and that what is generally needed is interest and personal service rather than money. If we were once convinced of the need of such organisation as we have been convinced of the need of maintaining our elementary schools, we should find the former task considerably easier than the latter. Yet it would seem to be almost as important. We have made great sacrifices to give our children a grounding in their religion and a start in life. Until we show the same concern for them after they have left school our terrible leakage from the faith will continue, and we shall go on multiplying our already high proportion of wastrels. The only remedy would appear to be the closer knitting together of our social organism.

As to the amount of Catholic social machinery required and the extent to which we may profitably co-operate with non-Catholics, that will, of course, depend upon the kind of institution which is in question. The matter is so important that we may be allowed to examine it at some length and to consider in turn some of the more important fields of social co-operation. We speak now of specific societies and not of federation, as to which enough has already been said.

Take first of all the professions. Why, it may be asked, should Catholic doctors or lawyers, scientists or journalists, actors or artists, ever

think of forming associations of their own? They have their professional societies to further their professional interests; and they have general Catholic societies to promote their religious interests. To intrude their religion into their profession would only be to create distrust among their non-Catholic colleagues.

To this it may be answered that the organisation of Catholic professional men into societies may be of advantage to the Catholic body, to the members themselves and to their respective professions. The Church needs the systematic service of those of her sons who have established themselves in professional life. She needs their experience, she needs their expert knowledge in defence of her doctrine, she calls upon them to protect the interests of Christianity in their various spheres of action, to apply in their professional life the principles which she has taught them. All this can only be done by associations, which bring them together at once in their religious and in their professional capacity. The Church has a right to expect such co-operation from them; for it is a question of their meeting, not to promote parochial undertakings or contribute to schools and churches, but to render as professional men due services to the Catholic Church to which their very professions are so much in debt. For although her mission is not the furtherance of art or science but our redemption and sanctification, yet she has done much which she never professed to do and by

which she refuses to be tested, though often enough she might well stand the test. As in the past she has done much to build up our modern civilization, so in the present she vindicates reason and kindles imagination, tending to keep art healthy and science sane. Many good things come together with her, and she expects her sons to use those good things in her service. And such a return wins more than it costs. For to bring one's Catholicity into one's profession is to lift that profession on to a higher plane, to fill it with light and colour and charge it with interest. Nor need there be any friction with merely professional organisations, since these have quite a different aim.

In a different category stand Trade Unions and commercial and industrial associations. Yet here again Catholics, though they cannot stand altogether apart from wider organisations, need at least some sort of machinery by which they can take concerted action among themselves. This want is being supplied to some extent by Trade Union Committees of the Catholic Federations. The subject, though of extreme importance, is too vast to be discussed here.

Take again the question of social study. On the one hand we cannot stand alone. We have so much to learn and so little provision for learning, that we must make use of such organisations as the London School of Economics, the School of Sociology and Social Economics, the British Institute of Social Service, the Women's

Institute, and so forth. Of the importance of such training as is to be found there little need be said, for we believe that it is at last being recognized amongst us. Social study is, in fact, becoming more and more indispensable for those who do not wish to expose themselves to such blunders in social work as may make it questionable whether they are not doing more harm than good. For some excellent observations on this subject we may refer our readers to an invaluable little book entitled *Ideals of Charity*, by Mrs Crawford.

Yet, are Catholic students merely to become absorbed by such non-Catholic training centres as we have named? By no means. They will need a special Catholic tact which may enable them upon occasion to correct or supplement the methods which they have been taught. And so we are faced once more by the need of bringing our Catholic students of economics and sociology into touch with one another. By degrees they will gain experience and prepare the way for more independent Catholic enterprise. Eventually the Catholic body in England might, as we have indicated, make a very weighty contribution to social science and social reform. The possession of a stable basis in the social Encyclicals of Leo XIII would give it a considerable advantage. Nor need it be distressed at the comparative smallness of its numbers. The Fabian Society is still a small body, numbering perhaps a couple of thousand members. A few

years ago it was a mere handful. Yet its persistent action has resulted in an influence which extends far beyond the number of professed socialists (and the number is considerable) who accept its teaching. Now it is hard to see why Catholics should not have done a similar work in this country. The mere social programme of the Fabian Society is much the same as that of the *Volksverein*; and to its practical programme rather than to its socialistic principles the Fabian Society must attribute its success. For its principles are not merely insecure but uncongenial to the English mind; whereas Catholic social principles are both sound and satisfying.

As of social study, so of social work. Some co-operation with non-Catholics is necessary, but its limits must be defined, and there is need of much organisation among ourselves.

First, as to the need of co-operation. This is all the more evident in view of the growing tendency to give the voluntary social worker a place in the municipal system. If we stand aloof we may find it impossible to reach even our own people. As Mrs Crawford writes in the work already quoted:

> A type of social worker is being evolved capable of filling semi-official positions, or at least positions recognised by more or less officially constituted bodies. School managers, hospital almoners, health visitors, working in connection with sanitary inspectors, and co-opted members on education or distress committees —these are the posts that the modern worker among the poor aspires to fill. All of them require definite

qualifications besides wide general experience. It is most important that when such appointments are made Catholics should not be passed over; that there should be among us a sufficiency of obviously suitable candidates for these unpaid posts of honour. I am afraid that this has hardly been so in the past. . . . More training for social work and a less parochial view of our obligations are what we need if we are to labour on terms of equality with our non-Catholic fellow-workers in these new fields of social endeavour.

Hence our plea is for more rather than less participation in municipal and national reform movements. Mr Leslie Toke has pointed out in his valuable pamphlet on *Some Methods of Social Study* how rare it is to find Catholic names on the councils of various excellent and quite unsectarian reform societies. By this aloofness from the commendable efforts which are being made to cope with housing problems, sweating evils, cruelty to children, and the like we are losing a great opportunity not only of co-operating in the abolition of scandals which the Church persistently denounces, but of letting our fellow-countrymen see that Catholics really do listen to the bitter cry of the poor. The splendid charitable work effected by our good nuns or by such bodies as the Society of St Vincent de Paul is in a somewhat different category, and so far from being prejudiced by increased civic action among us would be safe-guarded from bigoted interference and given wider opportunities. Bishop Ketteler and Cardinal Manning both taught Catholics not to confine their social activities to

Catholic institutions, and both came to be regarded as the natural champions of the toilers and the sufferers of a whole nation.

Yet we must insist on the need of a certain amount of organisation among Catholics themselves even in these wide fields of reform where co-operation is so necessary. To social workers outside the fold who recommend Catholics to merge themselves in municipal and civic work, and to make no attempt to combine their own workers, we reply as follows: "You wish to secure recruits from our ranks for public bodies. So do we. You contend that we are not sufficiently interested in these matters. That is both true and regrettable. But this state of things will best be remedied if we can get up a little corporate enthusiasm in the matter. The nation has not secured enough Catholic recruits for national social work: the towns have not attracted their proportion of representatives on municipal bodies. Let us see whether the Church cannot by means of her own social organisation provide a stream of co-operators in national and municipal work. If German Catholics take the lead in social reform, it is because they have in Catholic associations learnt the importance of this field of activity. If Catholics in this country have done so much good work as Poor Law Guardians it is largely due to the Catholic Guardians' Association. If you want Catholics to help in housing reform, get them to talk it over among themselves. If

you want them to lend their weight to the anti-sweating crusade, urge them to take the matter up at their Congress and to form their own committee which may co-operate with yours."

It may be urged that the Church does not exist for the sake of supplying specialists in sanitation or providing experts in economics. That is true. Her concern is with the souls of men. Yet the provision of experts, though not her end, may be a necessary means of securing higher ends. She will help in removing demoralising poverty, not because it is poverty but because it is demoralising. She is concerned to lift the crushing load from the necks of the destitute because, so long as it is crushing it will distract them from listening to her message. We may add that organised social work is both an excellent field for the cultivation of the Catholic spirit and a powerful means of exhibiting to the world the strength and beauty of Catholic principles. Men are quick to detect the spirit of Christ at work under the merely humane solicitude for suffering. If we can develop that spirit amongst us we shall be proof against that dangerous tendency to regard committees and lectures and congresses as ends in themselves and as substitutes for labour which must be patient and unselfish, and will often be thankless. We hold no brief for Mrs Jellaby, nor do we advocate organisation for its own sake.

Finally, we may consider the question of co-operation with non-Catholic charitable insti-

tutions, or with societies which aim at educating the poor by personal intercourse rather than by securing a better material environment. In other words, we have now to speak, not of providing better houses or preventing sweating, but of clubs, settlements, boys' brigades, refuges, district visiting and the like. On debateable ground between the two will be found such matters as mutual improvement societies, extension classes, popular institutes, and so forth, to which our remarks may have partial reference.

In this case not only is there need for institutions of our own, but indiscriminate intercourse with non-Catholics would lead to far more deplorable results than in the other categories of social work which we have been considering. A Catholic worker may study social methods at a non-Catholic institution and yet retain the Catholic standpoint. But a Catholic child who is sent to a splendidly equipped club or gymnasium actively conducted by non-Catholics, and there finds that his few Catholic companions are swamped by the rest of the members, is likely to have his religious instincts dulled. The most delicate consideration on the part of the managers for the religious beliefs of the Catholic children does not diminish the danger. In a sense it increases it. The boy will be impressed by the splendour of the surroundings, the kindness of the gentlemen who provide them, the good-fortune and numbers of his non-Catholic companions. He will contrast all this with the

poverty of his own Catholic home or parochial institutions. He will wonder why the priest makes so much of Mass and Confession, catechism and prayer: the other boys at the club seem to get on very well without them. In other words he is beset by that most insidious of temptations against which Cardinal Newman has put us on our guard—a temptation, which, if it may press sorely on a young Catholic at a great university, is likely to crush a poor Catholic child in the slums. The latter is only too likely to overlook the value of the supernatural when he sees how attractive and satisfying the merely natural can be.

Hence we, as Catholics, may cheerfully sacrifice a certain amount of material setting or educational efficiency in our clubs and institutions if by so doing we can preserve in our children their appreciation of Catholic truth. After all, we shall in this way be giving them a better training in civic virtues than if we laid more stress on technical instruction to the neglect of religious formation and character building. Secure their devotion to the Sacraments, and they will be better citizens of earth as well as of Heaven. Given Catholic clubs and their Catholic atmosphere, we may then consider how far it may be wise to supplement our resources by letting our boys attend non-sectarian technical classes and the like. But until we have provided the normal Catholic atmosphere, fusion with non-Catholic institutions must be fraught with grave danger.

Such is our answer to those who would deny the need for additional Catholic organisation. We need it in order to develop and give scope to the strength of the Catholic body. By means of it we shall the better fulfil our duties both as Catholics and as citizens. To secure it we must develop our social instincts by means of well-supported Congresses, active and widespread federation, and the constant influence of specific societies embracing every form of social endeavour. There is, of course, no question of initiating any Catholic social work which has not the fullest approval of the hierarchy.

* * * * *

We have something to learn, then, it would seem, from the history of Catholic social effort in Germany during the last half century. Even the few aspects of that history which we have been able to present should convince us of the need and the possibility of applying the principles of Catholicism to our public life. The work is one which calls for much concerted study, for energy and patience, and for a resolute suppression of personal jealousy, class intolerance, or local prejudice. We need to be business-like in our methods and practical in our organisation. And with the trained alertness of the expert we must combine a large measure of religious faith and enthusiasm. It is this combination which has given to the Catholic movement in Germany all its strength and value.

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INDEX.

AIX, Congress at, 52
Andlaw, Count von, 42
Arbeiterwohl, 60, 63, 119
Athanasius, 37
Augustinusverein, 60, 115

BOCHUM, Congress at, 64
Bonifaciusverein, 47
Borromaeusverein, 56, 116
Breslau, Congress at, 46

CATHOLIC Association, 108, 111
Catholic Guardians' Association, 111, 133
Catholic Reading Guild, 108, 115
Catholic School of Social Science (St Bede's), 124
Catholic Truth Society, 103-107, 111, 113, 116
Catholic Women's League, 108, 111, 124
Catholic Y.M.S., 108
Christianity and Social Questions, 20
Christlich-sociale Blätter, 23
Cologne, Congress at, 50
Congresses, 15, 31-81, 99-100
—— unifying effect, 32; religious spirit, 34, 36, 79; influence on other institutions, 35, 36; approval of the Bishops, 48, 78-79; opposition of the Government, 49; and politics, 52-53; numbers attending, 69-72; organisation, 72-78; lessons for Catholics in England, 101 *seq.*
Crawford, Mrs, 130, 131, 132

DECURTINS, 24
Döllinger, 5, 43, 44

EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS, 122

FABIAN SOCIETY, 130-131
Federations, Catholic, 108, 129
—— —— Confederation of, 109-112
Förster, 44
Frankfort, Congress at, 54, 60-62
Frankfort Pamphlets, 56
Freiburg, Congress at, 51
Fulda, Episcopal Conference at, 21-23

Gesellenverein, 46, 47, 50
Görres, 5, 37, 39
Görres Society, 60, 116, 117

Handbook of Catholic Charitable and Social Works, 107
Heinrich, Dr, 61
Hitze, Dr, 28, 62-63
Hop Pickers, Catholic, 121

Ideals of Charity, 130

KETTELER, Bishop, 3-30, 44, 96-98, 132
—— deputy at Frankfort, 6, 7; gives Conferences at Mainz, 9-10; made Bishop of Mainz, 10; on the Press, 13; *Liberty, Authority and the Church*, 14; *The Labour Question and Christianity*, 16, 17; on Socialism, 17; on Trade Unions, 19; on social reform, 20-21; at Conference of Fulda, 21-23; *The Catholics in the German Empire*, 24; death, 25; character, 26-27; influence, 28-29; and Leo XIII, 29-30
Kulturkampf, 25, 58-59

Date Due

LABOUR QUESTION, 57-58
Lassalle, 17-18
Law Society, Catholic, 63-64
Leeds Catholic Federation, 109
Lennig, Dean, 39-42
Linz, Congress at, 47
Löwenstein, Prince, 61, 73, 79

MAINZ, Congress at, 40, 47
Manning, Cardinal, 132
May, Pfarrer Joseph, 41
Medical Guild, proposed Catholic, 120
Missions, Foreign, 107
Moufang, 61
Mun, Comte de, 105
Munich, Congress at, 51
Munster, Congress at, 49, 63

Piusverein, 40
Press, Catholic, 13, 51-52, 56, 60, 114-116
Preston, Lectures on Sociology at, 124

RATISBON, Congress at, 47
Riffel, Kaspar, 39

SAI[redacted] 124
Social [redacted]
—— Question, [redacted]ortant than Political, 7
Socialism, 1, 2, 7, 17
Society of St Vincent de Paul, 44, 63, 108, 132

THEODOSIUS, Fr., 55
Thissen, Fr., 54
Toke, Mr Leslie, 132
Trade Unions, 19, 129
Treves, 37

UNIVERSITY, Catholic, Proposals for, 53-54

Volksverein, 81-94 ; founded by Windthorst, 82 ; objects, 83 ; organisation, 84-86; literature, 87; information bureau, 88-91; lectures, 91

WINDTHORST, Ludwig, 59, 64, 82

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